1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

FIRST DIVISION. INITIAL RITES

FIRST RITUAL. MAKING THE HAKO

PART I. INVOKING THE POWERS

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

At the creation of the world it was arranged that there should be lesser powers. Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, could not come near to man, could not be seen or felt by him, therefore lesser powers were permitted. They were to mediate between man and Tira'wa. The first song mentions some of these lesser powers in the order in which they come near to man, in the order of their creation.

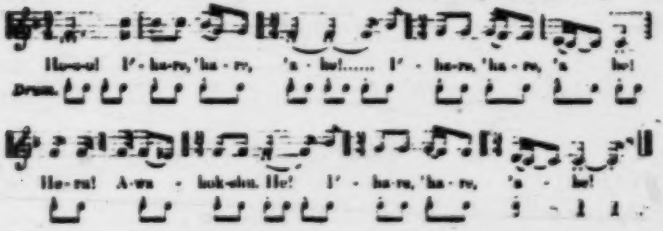
773
776
539*
796*

SONG

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533]*

M. M. ♩ = 126.
· = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



I

1 Ho-o-o!
2 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
3 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
4 Heru! Awahakshu. He!
5 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

II

6 Ho-o-o!
7 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
8 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
9 Heru! Hakuru. He!
10 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

III

11 Ho-o-o!
12 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
13 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
14 Heru! Shakuru. He!
15 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

IV

16 Ho-o-o!
17 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
18 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
19 Heru! H'U'ruru. He!
20 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

V

21 Ho-o-o!
22 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
23 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
24 Heru! Tohuru. He!
25 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

VI

26 Ho-o-o!
27 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
28 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!
29 Heru! Chahuru. He!
30 I'hare, 'hare, 'ahe!

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Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

Fhare is an exclamation, as when one suddenly remembers something of which he has been unmindful, because other things demanded his attention. The mind having been recalled to the subject, now appreciates its importance, gives it complete attention, and becomes absorbed by it. The word means, I remember, I perceive, I give heed. 539* 796*

The repetition of the word as we sing "Fhare, 'hare, 'ahe!" indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the subject brought to our attention.

Heru is an exclamation of reverence, in recognition of a place where prayers can be sent and whence help can come to us.

Awahokshu is that place—the place where Tira'wa atius, the mighty power, dwells. Below are the lesser powers, to whom man can appeal directly, whom he can see and hear and feel, and who can come near him. Tira'wahut is the great circle in the sky where these lesser powers dwell. They are like deputies or attributes of Tira'wa atius. The North Star and the Brown Eagle are among these lesser powers. A number of them are mentioned in this song and in the order in which they come near to man. We begin by calling upon Tira'wa atius, the father of all, but we do not address the power directly; we mention the holy place where the power dwells, Awahokshu, and send our thoughts and our voice there, that our cry may reach those who have the ability to come to us and to help us. 539* 792 776 796*

Fhare, 'hare, 'ahe means that our minds are dwelling on our appeal to the powers.

Translation of Second Stanza

6, 7, 8 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

9 Heru! Hotoru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Hotoru, the Winds, those that stand at the four cardinal points. This term is not used in ordinary speech. It refers to the supernatural powers, the Winds. The common word for wind is utawiu; windy, tihota.

he! part of fhare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

10 See the first stanza, line 2.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

Fhare I have explained already. It always means the same, the arresting and fixing of the mind upon a subject of importance.

Heru! Hoturu. He! we exclaim, as we call on Hotoru. Hotoru, the Winds, were the first of the lesser powers to come near to man, so they are the first to be mentioned in this appeal. They are invisible, but they are very strong (efficient); they are from the breath of Tira'wa and they give life to man. They stand at the four directions (cardinal points) and guard the paths that are there, the paths down

*539 772 which the lesser powers must travel when they descend to bring help to man.

●776 *796 In this stanza, we remember the power given by Tira'wa to the Winds, and we cry to Hotoru to come and give their help to us at this time, to give life to the sacred articles about to be prepared for the ceremony of the Hako.

I'hare, 'hare 'ahe means, as we sing it this time, that we are reflecting upon Hotoru, we are thinking of all that they bring to man, the breath by which he lives.

The Winds are always near us by night and by day.

Translation of Third Stanza

*539 11, 12, 13 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

*796 14 Heru! Shakuru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

[195] Shakuru, the Sun. This word is not used in ordinary speech; it refers to the supernatural power, the Sun, in its relation to man. The common term for sun is ti'rasakariki, sun standing.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

15 See the first stanza, line 2. The words in this line have special reference to the mind dwelling seriously upon Shakuru.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[776 821] Shakuru, the Sun, is the first of the visible powers to be mentioned. It is very potent; it gives man health, vitality, and strength. Because of its power to make things grow, Shakuru is sometimes spoken of as atius, father. The Sun comes direct from the mighty power above; that gives it its great potency.

As we sing this stanza, we think of all that the Sun can do for us and we cry to it, to come now and give potentiality to the sacred articles about to be made ready for use in this ceremony.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

16, 17, 18 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

19 Heru! Il'Uraru. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

[195 778] h', the sign of breath; "breathing life."

Uraru, the Earth. This term is not used in ordinary speech; the common name for the earth is kahoraru. Il'Uraru refers to the supernatural power that belongs to the earth, the power to bring forth.

he! part of I'hare! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

20 See the first stanza, line 2. In the last line of the stanza the word I'hare implies reflection: "We reflect on Il'Uraru!"

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NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

H'Uraru, the Earth, is the lesser power we cry to next. The Earth is very near to man; we speak of her as Atira, Mother, because she brings forth. From the Earth we get our food; we lie down on her; we live and walk on her; we could not exist without her, as we could not breathe without Hotoru (the Winds) or grow without Shakuru (the Sun). 539* 796* [776]

Mother Earth is very potent to help man and now we cry to her to come near and give potentiality to the sacred articles we are about to prepare.

We reverently reflect upon all that Mother Earth does for us.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

21, 22, 23 See the first stanza, lines 1, 2, 3.

24 Heru! Toharu. He!

heru! an exclamation of reverence. See the first stanza, line 4.

Toharu, the living covering of the earth, no special form being indicated; a general term for vegetation, but implying the supernatural power manifested therein. Katoha'ru, trees. [778]

he! part of i'haro! give heed! See the first stanza, line 4.

25 See lines 2 and 20. "We reflect on Toharu!"

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Toharu means all the things that Mother Earth brings forth (all forms of vegetation); these are many. They are very necessary to man and they bring him much help. They too are lesser powers, though not so potent as some of the others. From them we get our food; from them comes the grass upon which the animals feed—the animals which supply clothing and food; from them come the trees which are very necessary to us. They have a part in this ceremony. 539* 796* 824

As we sing we think upon all that Toharu gives us and we cry to this power to come near, for without the help of Toharu some of the sacred articles required for this ceremony could not be obtained.

At this stanza the two men who have been selected to cut the two sticks of ash arise and go out of the lodge to perform this duty. The ash tree has been chosen beforehand, but the two men must cut the sticks when they go out at this time.

We stop between the stanzas of the song that this act may be performed.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The four blue lines represent the four paths at the four directions (cardinal points), near which the winds stand as guards. Down these paths the powers descend to bring help to man.

The blue paint came down one of these paths, but I was not taught which one.

Translation of Fifth Stanza

110 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
111 Il'Atira, weri tawawe.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
tawawe, to spread.
112, 113 See line 111.
114 Il'Atira tawawe re. See lines 83, 86, and 111.
115 Weri tawawe. See lines 83 and 111.
116 See line 111.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing this stanza the Ku'rahus spreads (tawawe) with his finger the blue paint over the tip of the ear of corn, to represent the blue dome of the sky, where the powers dwell, above whom is the mighty Tira'wa atius, the father of all.

This act signifies that Mother Corn has reached the abode of Tira'wahut, where she will receive authority to lead in this ceremony.

Translation of Sixth Stanza

117 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
118 Il'Atira, weri tawitshpa.
h'Atira, weri. See line 83.
tawitshpa, the attainment of an object; the completion of an undertaking; the end reached.
119, 120 See line 118.
121 Il'Atira tawitshpa re. See lines 83, 86, and 118.
122 Weri tawitshpa. See lines 83 and 118.
123 See line 118.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Mother Corn having reached the blue dome where dwells the great circle of powers, Tira'wahut, and having gained what she went for, tawitshpa, authority to lead in the ceremony, she descends to earth by the four paths.

The blue paint having now been put on the ear of corn, this part of the ceremony is completed.

In all that is to follow h'Atira, Mother Corn breathing forth life, is to lead. She came forth from Mother Earth, who knows all places and all that happens among men, so she knows all places and all men, and can direct us where to go when we carry the sacred articles which give plenty and peace.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Because of the sacred and binding character of this relationship, and the gifts brought by it to the Son, namely, long life and many children to make his family strong, the selection of a man to be made a Son is regarded as a serious and important act, one in which the chiefs and the leading men of the Father's tribe must have a voice.

The Son should be a chief or a man who has the respect of the leading men of his tribe, and whom the Father's tribe would be glad to have bound to them by the tie of Son.

While the Father has been gathering the materials necessary for this ceremony, which may have taken him a year or more, he has had some particular person in his mind whom he desired to make a Son. When everything is ready he mentions this particular person to the chiefs and leading men, and when we are gathered together to sing this song we think of this chosen man and we ask the assistance of Mother Corn, and if he is the right person she will lead us to him.

The selection of the Son takes place soon after the preparation of the sacred objects, frequently on the night of the same day. It must always be in the night time, because the spirits can travel best at night. The spirit of the corn and the spirits of the people present in the lodge at this time are to decide who shall be the Son, and Mother Corn is to lead us to him. The same persons are present at this ceremony that were present at the preparation of the Hako.

In the west of the lodge, facing the east, sit the Ku'rahus, his assistant, and the Father. Before them are the sacred objects arranged as at ceremonial rest. A little way in front of the crotched stick stands the ear of corn which has been painted in the sacred manner (see figure 172). It is held in position by one of the sticks to which it is tied being thrust into the ground. This ear of corn is the mother, and upon her everyone present must fix his mind.

The singing of the following stanzas occupies most of the night; they do not follow each other quickly, for we must pause after each one.

SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 132.

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 *796 As we sing this stanza everyone bends his mind toward the ear of corn, for our spirits (chixu) and the spirit (chixu) of the corn must converge (whitika), must come together and unite for the purpose of finding the Son. The ear of corn is a part of h'Uraru (see line 19), Mother Earth, the mother of all things, so we call the ear of corn Mother Corn; and because she supports our life through food, we speak of her as h'Atira, mother giving forth life.

*539 *796 ●776 All things live on the earth, Mother Corn knows and can reach all things, can reach all men, so her spirit is to lead our spirits in this search over the earth. When Mother Corn went up to Tira'wahut at the time she was painted (see lines 82 to 123), power was given her to lead the spirits of all things in the air and to command the birds and the animals connected with the Hako. Endowed with power from Tira'wahut above and from h'Uraru (Mother Earth) below, Mother Corn leads and we must follow her, our spirits must follow her spirit. We must fix our minds upon Mother Corn and upon the Son, who is the object of our search. It is a very difficult thing to do. All our spirits must become united as one spirit, and as one spirit we must approach the spirit of Mother Corn. This is a very hard thing to do.

Translation of Second Stanza

*539 *796 129 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

130 H'Atira hari, h'Atira hari.
h'Atira, Mother breathing forth life. See line 125.
hari, part of the word iha'ri, offspring, children.

131 He! Chixu ti uchitika hari.
he! look! behold!
chixu, spirit of a person or thing.
ti, have. See line 126.
uchitika, meditating on; turning over a subject in one's mind and considering it in all its aspects.
hari, part of iha'ri, young; refers to the Son.

132 H'Atira hari! See line 130.

133 H'Atira hari, h'Atira. Ha! See lines 128, 130.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing this stanza our spirits and the spirit of Mother Corn have come together. Now we are all to meditate. We sit with bowed heads, and Mother Corn sits with bowed head. We are all to think over and consider (uchitika) who shall be the Son.

We must all agree upon the choice, Mother Corn and all.

It is very difficult for all to unite, but we must do so before we can follow Mother Corn where she determines to lead us. It often takes a long time.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902)1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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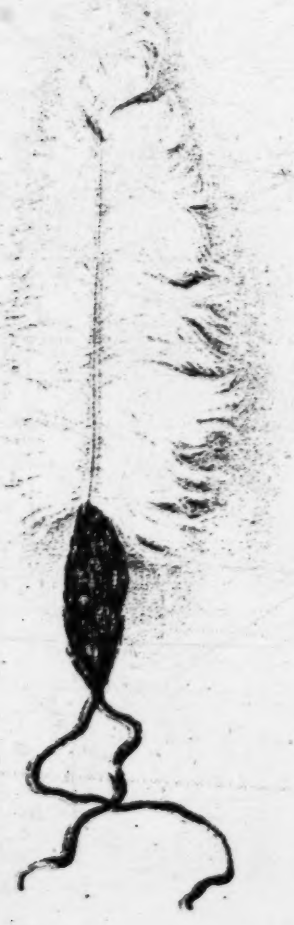

THE FEATHER SYMBOL OF TIRAWA

(TO ILLUSTRATE "HARD, A PAWNEE CEREMONY," BY A.C. FLETCHER.)

[FACING p. 58]

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

We do this that Tira'wa and all the lesser powers—the Winds, the Sun, the Earth, and the four at the west which control the storm—may see that all is complete and ready for the ceremony.

It is all done in silence before the day dawns. No song is sung when we put the objects on the pole and raise it nor when we take it down and remove them. We must let them stay up there for some time in order that all the powers may surely see that everything is correct, so the sun is well up when the Ku'rahus goes out to the pole, lowers it, and removes the sacred objects and carries them into the lodge and puts them on the holy place.

Part II. Mother Corn Assumes Leadership

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As I told you before, the Ku'rahus at the beginning of the ceremony anointed himself with the sacred ointment and fastened upon his head

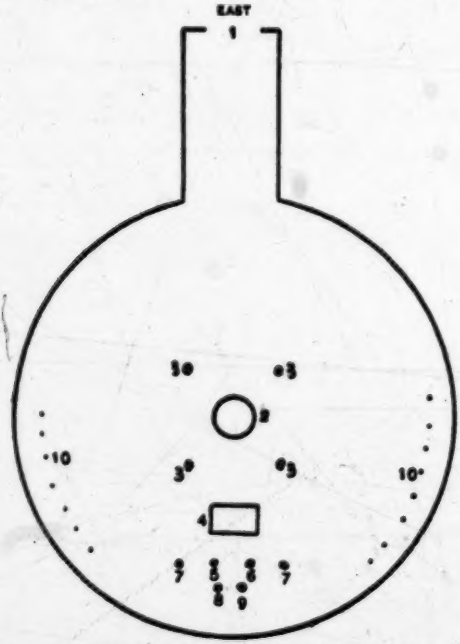

Fig. 172. Diagram of the Father's lodge during the singing of the first stanza of the song of the fourth ritual, part II.

1, the entrance to the lodge; 2, the fireplace; 3, inner posts supporting the dome-shaped roof; 4, the holy place; 5, the Ku'rahus; 6, his assistant; 7, the bearers of the eagle wings; 8, the Father (a chief); 9, the second chief; 10, members of the Hako party.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 184 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa hiri;
185 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa, hiri ra wa, hiri ra wa. He!
*796 186 Hiru ra hi ra wa hiri;
187 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa. He!

Translation

184 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa hiri.
hiru; iru, they yonder; the h is prefixed for euphony and to give ease in singing.
ra, coming.
hiri; iri, they who are far away; the h is prefixed for euphony.
ra, moving, moving this way.
wa, part of the word towaro, passing through the air.
hiru, they yonder; the h is for euphony.
ra, coming.
wa, from towaro, darting through the air.
hiri, they who are far away; the h is used for euphony.

185 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa, hiri ra wa, hiri ra wa. He!
hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa, hiri ra wa. See line 184.
he! a part of the exclamation i'haro! meaning I think upon and consider the significance of (the act which accompanies the song); the change of the r to h is for euphony.

186 Hiru ra hi ra wa hiri.
hiru ra. See line 184.
hi, part of the word hiri, translated above.
ra wa hiri. See line 184.

187 Hiru ra hiri ra wa, hiru ra wa. He! All the words are translated above. See lines 184 and 185.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*539 This song is addressed to Tira'wa atius. He is the father of all and
*796 all things come from him. We pray in our hearts as we sing. We
● 776 ask Tira'wa to watch over the Ku'rahus, to guide his acts and to guard his words so that he may make no mistake and the ceremony may be complete. From the east the flashes of the eyes of Tira'wa come darting through the air upon us and upon the sacred objects.

We sing this song four times and then take sixteen steps to the east; there we turn and face the west, the people all behind us.

As we stand and look toward the west we remember that it is there that the four lesser powers dwell who were permitted by Tira'wa atius to bring life to man. These powers also control the thunder, the lightning, the storm, and death.

We sing the first stanza of the following song to them eight times.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation

I

*539 *796 236 Wira uhaki, wira uhaki.
wira; wi, a qualifying word meaning that an object is long or stretched out; ra, at a distance, yonder.
uhaki, something that is in a line; a stretch.
237 Katuharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
katuharu, trees, timber, woods.
uhaki, a long line, a stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.
238 Katuharu uhaki. See line 237.

II

239 See line 236.
240 Kichaharu uhaki, wira uhaki.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
uhaki, a long stretch.
wira uhaki. See line 236.
241 Kichaharu uhaki. See line 240.

III

242 Wira wihaku, wira wihaku.
wira, something that is long seen at a distance.
wihaku, rippling.
243 Kichaharu wihaku; wira wiharu.
kichaharu, a stream, a river.
wihaku, rippling.
wira wihaku. See line 242.
244 Kichaharu wihaku. See line 243.

Explanation by the Ku'rähus

*539 *796 ● 776 823 In this ceremony water is not used except for sacred purposes. We mix the paint that we use upon the sacred objects with running water. When on our journey we come to a stream of running water we can not step into it to cross it without asking permission of Kawas. Kawas is the mother; she represents the night and the moon, and she can permit us to enter and wade through the stream. So, whenever we come to a river we call upon Kawas to protect us, that our act of passing through the water may not bring punishment, and may not cause the clouds to come between us and the blue dome, the dwelling place of Tira'wa, or break the continuity of life from one generation to another.

The following song is our appeal to Kawas. When we sing the first stanza we enter the stream, the water touches our feet.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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823

SONG WHEN CROSSING THE STREAMS

Words and Music

M. M. ♪ = 116.

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

No drum.

I

243 Hoo-o!
246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
247 Tewi hukuka.
248 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
249 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.

II

250 Hoo-o!
251 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
252 Tewi hariki.
253 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
254 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.

III

255 Hoo-o!
256 He! Kawas sire tewi huiwa.
257 Tewi huiwa.
258 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi huiwa.
259 He! Kawas sire tewi huiwa.

IV

260 Hoo-o!
261 He! Kawas sire tewi huwitshu.
262 Tewi huwitshu.
263 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas seri tewi huwitshu.
264 He! Kawas sire tewi huwitshu.

Translation

I

245 Hoo-o! An introductory exclamation.

246 He! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.

he! a part of the exclamation hiri! give heed! harken!

Kawas; the brown eagle, which in this ceremony represents the feminine principle, the night, the moon.

sire, its; a possessive pronoun referring to Kawas.

tewi, it has; refers to the water.

hukuka, a composite word; hu, from chaharu, water; kuka, to step into, as to put one's feet in the water, to wade.

247 Tewi hukuka.

tewi, it has; the water has touched the feet.

hukuka, step into the water. The feet have stepped into the water.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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*796
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823

248 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka.
he! give heed! harken!
Kawas, the mother, the brown eagle.
sire, its; refers to the control of the water by Kawas.
a, a vocable used to fill out the measure of the music.
he! Kawas sire tewi hukuka. See line 246.

249 See line 246.

II

250 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

251 He! Kawas sire tewi hariki.
he! part of the exclamation hiri! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle, representing the female principle.
sire, its.
tewi, it has.
hariki, a composite word; ha, a part of chaharu, water; riki, standing.

252 Tewi hariki.
tewi, it has.
hariki, water standing. Our feet are standing in the water.

253 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hariki. See lines 248 and 251.

254 See line 251.

III

255 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

256 He! Kawas sire tewi haiwa.
he! part of the word hiri! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.
sire, its; refers to Kawas.
tewi, it has.
haiwa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; iwa, moving in: haiwa, moving in the water.

257 Tewi haiwa. See line 256.

258 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi haiwa. See lines 248 and 256.

259 See line 256.

IV.

260 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

261 He! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa.
he! harken! give heed!
Kawas, the brown eagle; the mother, the female principle.
sire, its; refers to Kawas.
tewi, it has; refers to the water.
hawitshpa, a composite word; ha, part of chaharu, water; witshpa, completed, accomplished a purpose, reached an end. The meaning of the word is that the water has covered the feet.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

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262 Tewi hawitshpa. See line 261.
263 He! Kawas sire a he! Kawas sire tewi hawitshpa. See lines 248 and 261.
264 See line 261.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When we sing the second stanza, our feet are standing in the water. When the third stanza is sung, our feet are moving in the water. At the fourth stanza the water covers our feet. So as we sing this song we enter the stream and, under the protection of Kawas, we pass through to the other side.

Every time we come to a stream across which our path lies we must sing this song.

After we have forded the stream we pause at the bank. We are wet with water through which we have just passed, but we must not touch our bodies where we are wet to dry ourselves, for the running water is sacred.

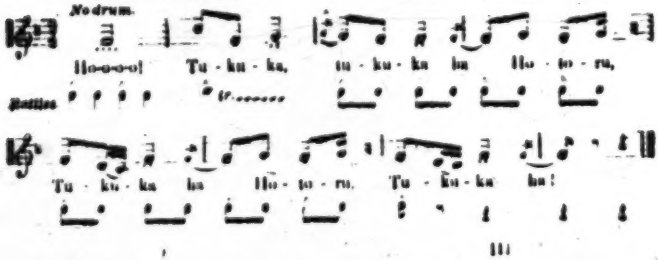
So, we sing the first stanza of the following song and call on the Wind, Hotoru, to come and touch us that we may become dry.

SONG TO THE WIND

Words and Music

539*
796*
[533*]

M. M. ♩ = 132.
• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.
No drum.



I

265 Hoooo!
266 Tukuka, tukuka ha Hotoru,
267 Tukuka ha Hotoru,
268 Tukuka ha!

II

269 Hoooo!
270 Taiwa, taiwa ha Hotoru,
271 Taiwa ha Hotoru,
272 Taiwa ha!

III

273 Hoooo!
274 Tawawe, tawawe he Hotoru,
275 Tawawe he Hotoru,
276 Tawawe he!

IV

277 Hoooo!
278 Tawitshpa, tawitshpa ha Hotoru,
279 Tawitshpa ha Hotoru,
280 Tawitshpa ha!

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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*539 When as we travel we come to mountains or hills we sing the following song.
*796 Hills were made by Tira'wa. We ascend hills when we go away alone
[776 to pray. From the top of a hill we can look over the country to see if
823] there are enemies in sight or if any danger is near us; we can see if we are to meet friends. The hills help man, so we sing to them.

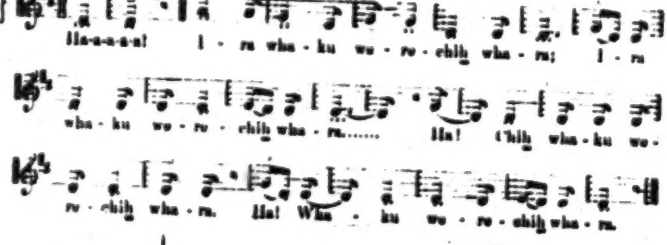
SONG TO THE MOUNTAINS

Words and Music

M. M. ♩ = 108.
• – Pulsation of the voice.
No drum.

Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.

[*533]



I

299 Ha-a-a-a-a!
300 Ira whaku werechih whara:
301 Ira whaku werechih whara.
302 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.
303 Ha! Whaku werechih whara.

II

304 Ha-a-a-a-a!
305 Ira whaku werechih katawara:
306 Ira whaku werechih katawara.
307 Ha! Chih katawara chih wara.
308 Ha! Whaku werechih katawara.

III

309 Ha-a-a-a-a!
310 Ira whaku werechih kitta hra:
311 Ira whaku werechih kitta hra.
312 Ha! Chih e werechih kitta hra.
313 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta hra.

IV

314 Ha-a-a-a-a!
315 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit:
316 Ira whaku werechih kitta witit.
317 Ha! Chih werechih kitta witit.
318 Ha! Whaku werechih kitta witit.

Translation

I

299 Ha-a-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.
300 Ira whaku werechih whara.
ira, yonder particular and single object.
whaku, an elevation, a mountain, a hill.
werechih, a party, a number of persons.
whara, walking, traveling on foot.
301 See line 300.
302 Ha! Chih whaku werechih whara.
ha! behold!
chih, the last syllable of the word werechih, a party.
whaku werechih whara. See line 300.
303 Ha! Whaku werechih whara. See lines 300, 302.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

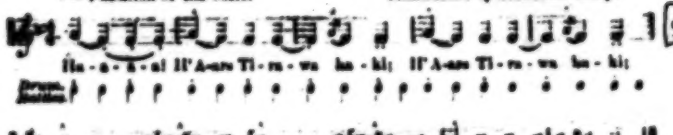
539*
796*

FIRST SONG

Words and Music

M. M. ♩= 126.

• = Pulsation of the voice. Transcribed by Edwin S. Tracy.



[533*]

437 Ha-a-a-a!
438 Ir'Aars Tira wa haki;
439 Ir'Aars Tira wa haki;
440 Ir'Aars Tira wa haki;
441 Ir'Aars Tira wa haki;
442 Ir'Aars Tira wa haki.

Translation

437 Ha-a-a-a! An introductory exclamation.

438 Ir'Aars Tira'wa haki.

h', a part of the word ha, your.
aars, a contraction of the word atius, father.
Tira'wa, the designation of the great power Tira'wa atius, thought to be above all other powers.
haki, many.

439–442 See line 438.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

When the Ku'rahus begins to sing this song he must think what this ceremony is for and be mindful that all the powers that the heavens contain and all the powers that are felt over the earth are now coming near and bending over the Hako. 539* 796* 776

All the powers that are in the heavens and all those that are upon the earth are derived from the mighty power, Tira'wa atius. He[a] is the father of all things visible and invisible. He is the father of all the powers represented by the Hako. He is the father of all the lesser powers, those which can approach man. He is the father of all the people, and perpetuates the life of the tribe through the gift of children. So we sing, your father, meaning the father of all people everywhere, the father of all things that we see and hear and feel.

As we sing the words over and over we think about Tira'wa atius being the father of all things. This and all stanzas are sung four times. 539* 796*

When we have gone entirely around the lodge and have returned

[a] The Pawnee pronoun here translated "he" does not in the original indicate sex, but is equivalent to "it," as the word relates to a person.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

539*
796*

546 Reshuru tiara i.
Reshuru, the Dawn.
tiara, born.
i, a part of riki, now, present time.
547 See line 544.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

Mother Earth hears the call; she moves, she awakes, she arises, she feels the breath of the new-born Dawn. The leaves and the grass stir; all things move with the breath of the new day; everywhere life is renewed.

This is very mysterious; we are speaking of something very sacred, although it happens every day.

Translation of Third Stanza

548 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
549 Il'Kawas si whata i.
h', the symbol of breath, breathing forth life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser and beneficient powers above.
si, you; a personal pronoun, singular number.
whata, arise, stir, move about.
i, a part of riki, now, the present time.
550 See line 549.
551 See line 546.
552 See line 549.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

We call upon Kawas to awake, to move, to arise. Kawas had been sleeping and resting during the night.

Kawas represents the lesser powers which dwell above, those which are sent by Tira'wa atius to bring us help. All these powers must awake and arise, for the breath of the new life of the Dawn is upon them. [776] [825]

The eagle soars where these powers dwell and can communicate with them. The new life of the new day is felt by these powers above as well as by Mother Earth below.

Translation of Fourth Stanza

553 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
554 Il'Kawas ta wata i.
h', the symbol of breath, life.
Kawas, the brown eagle, representative of the lesser powers above.
ta, a personal pronoun referring to Kawas.
wata, has arisen.
i, a part of the word riki, now, the present time.
555 See line 554.
556 See line 546.
557 See line 554.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

539* 796*

We sing this song slowly with reverent feeling, for we are singing of very sacred things.

539* 796*

The Morning Star is one of the lesser powers. Life and strength and fruitfulness are with the Morning Star. We are reverent toward it. Our fathers performed sacred ceremonies in its honor.

776 821

The Morning Star is like a man; he is painted red all over; that is the color of life. He is clad in leggings and a robe is wrapped about him. On his head is a soft downy eagle's feather, painted red. This feather represents the soft, light cloud that is high in the heavens, and the red is the touch of a ray of the coming sun. The soft, downy feather is the symbol of breath and life.

The star comes from a great distance, too far away for us to see the place where it starts. At first we can hardly see it; we lose sight of it, it is so far off; then we see it again, for it is coming steadily toward us all the time. We watch it approach; it comes nearer and nearer; its light grows brighter and brighter.

This is the meaning of this stanza, and the star comes as we sing it four times.

Translation of Second Stanza

539* 796*

383 H-o-o-o! An introductory exclamation.

384 H'Opirit ta ahrisha.

h', the symbol of breath, life.
Opirit, the Morning Star.
ta, approaching.
ahrisha, coming still nearer, but at the same time disappearing. The word conveys the picture of the morning star by its increased brilliancy coming nearer, and then fading, disappearing in the light of day.

385, 386, 387 See line 384.

Explanation by the Ku'ruhus

539* 796*

As we sing this stanza the Morning Star comes still nearer and now we see him standing there in the heavens, a strong man shining brighter and brighter. The soft plume in his hair moves with the breath of the new day, and the ray of the sun touches it with color. As he stands there so bright, he is bringing us strength and new life.

776 821

As we look upon him he grows less bright, he is kneeling, going back to his dwelling place whence he came. We watch him vanishing, passing out of our sight. He has left with us the gift of life which Tira'wa atius sent him to bestow.

We sing this stanza four times.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*539 616 Pirao rati hao.
*796 pirao, child, a general term, anybody's child.
rati, a part of the word hirati, my.
hao, my own child.

617 Ti kiri ka. Ha! Wita hesha!
ti kiri ka. See line 614.
ha! behold!
wita, coming.
hesha, a part of the word tahesha, daylight.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

While the messengers are going from one lodge to another to awake the people and bid them come to the lodge where the ceremony is being performed, we sing this second stanza.

It tells that the Son, now become as our own offspring, has gone forth to awake the Children, who have heard his call, and now, behold! they come forth to look upon the light of day.

This stanza is sung four times.

ELEVENTH RITUAL (SECOND DAY). THE MALE ELEMENT INVOKED

PART I. CHANT TO THE SUN

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

*796 On this, the second day of the ceremony, we remember our father
821 the Sun. The sun comes directly from Tira'wa atius, and whoever is touched by the first rays of the sun in the morning receives new life and strength which have been brought straight from the power above. The first rays of the sun are like a young man, they have not yet spent their force or grown old, so, to be touched by them is to receive an accession of strength.

*796 The door of the lodge where the ceremony is performed must face
[346] the east, so that the first rays of the sun can enter and reach the Children. I believe that as we sing this song and as the first rays touch the Children they will receive help and strength. I was told by my predecessor that it would be so, and he was taught by those who had received the knowledge from the fathers; therefore I tell the same to the Children. All the time I am singing this song I remember the
[776 Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn; all these were made by Tira'wa
782] atius, and I ask them to give us success and plenty; success in hunting and in war; plenty of food, of children, and of health. The Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Corn, are powerful.

The Children, who have been aroused by the messengers of the Son, gather at the lodge before the sun is up. They must be there when the first ray appears if they would gain its blessing.

As soon as we who are standing at the west of the lodge, looking through the doorway, catch sight of the first ray of the sun on the horizon, we take up the Hako and move by the north to make a first circuit of the lodge, and sing the first verse of this chant.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Verse

*539 618 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
*796 619 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, huru ka ha-a hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha.

hira, will come. The word is ira, the h is added for euphony and greater ease in singing.
h', the symbol of breath, life, breathing forth, giving life.
aars, a contraction of atius, father.
ira, will come.
a, a prolongation of the last syllable of ira.
were, at that time, when, or then.
hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.
huru, entering.
ka, a part of akaru, lodge. Ka, however, refers to the open space within, around the fireplace, where the people gather, where they sit and pursue their avocations.
ha-a, a prolongation of ka.
hukawi, huru ka hukawi, hukawi huru ka ha. All the words are translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[776 821] We speak of the sun as Father breathing forth life (h'Aars), causing the earth to bring forth, making all things to grow. We think of the sun, which comes direct from Tira'wa atius, the father of life, and his ray (hukawi) as the bearer of this life. (You have seen this ray as it comes through a little hole or crack.) While we sing, this ray enters the door of the lodge to bring strength and power to all within.

We sing this verse four times as we go around the lodge. When we reach the west we pause.

Food, which has been prepared outside the lodge, is now brought in, and the Children are given their morning meal. Then we sing the second verse.

Translation of Second Verse

620 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
621 Hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi, ta kusi hi-i hukawi, ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta kusi hi.

hira h'Aars ira-a, were hukawi. See line 619.
ta, a spot; the word refers to the place where the ray touches and makes a bright spot.
kusi, alights upon, rests upon.
hi, a part of hira, will come. See line 619.
i, a prolongation of the syllable hi.
hukawi, the ray or beam of the sun.
ta kusi hukawi, hukawi ta kusi hi. Translated above.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

[821] As the sun rises higher the ray, which is its messenger, alights

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

Translation of First Stanza

1098 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1099 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we re hre kusi hi!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part of iha'ri, child, young.
hiri! an exclamation calling to give heed.
kitzu, a modified form of kiitzu, water.
we, now.
re, am.
hre, holding.
kusi, sitting.
hi! part of hiri! give heed! harken!
1100, 1101. See line 1099.

Explanation by the Ku'rahus

As we sing the first stanza the old man takes up the bowl and holds it in both hands.

Water is for sustenance and the maintenance of health; it is one of the great gifts of Tira'wa atius.

[776] The white man speaks of a heavenly Father; we say Tira'wa atius, the Father above, but we do not think of Tira'wa as a person. We think of Tira'wa as in everything, as the power which has arranged and thrown down from above everything that man needs. What the power above, Tira'wa atius, is like, no one knows; no one has been there.

[783] The water is in a bowl shaped like the dome of the sky, because water comes from Tira'wa atius. The little child is to be cleansed and prepared for its future life by the water—sustained and made strong by the water.

Translation of Second Stanza

1102 Ho-o-o! An introductory exclamation.
1103 Hiri! 'Hari; Hiri! Kitzu we re ru ata ha!
hiri! give heed!
'hari, a part in iha'ri, child.
hiri! give heed!
kitzu, water.
we, now.
re, am, or is.
ru, it.
ata, flying.
ha! behold!
1104, 1105 See line 1103.

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

*533 *796 In this song we meet exclamations characteristic of many others of the ceremony. These exclamations express the emotions evoked in the progress of the appeal. Few words are used, their iteration making the memorizing of the song easier than if the emotion had been fully elaborated in many different words. This apparent poverty of expression, which may in part be accounted for by the necessity of oral transmission, has not prevented metrical forms throughout the ceremony; with one exception, the songs are rhythmic. In the present instance the repetition of the exclamation I'hare! extended through the musical phrase by the echoing of its syllables, conveys *533 even to the eye of a stranger the meaning as given by the Ku'rahus *539 in his explanation of line 2. "The repetition of the word as we sing *796 I'hare, 'hare, 'aheo indicates that our minds are dwelling upon the subject brought to our attention."

This opening song is in two parts. One refers to the powers, the other to the inauguration of rites through which man can turn toward these powers.

Six stanzas belong to the first part, suggesting the six symbolic motions, indicating the four directions, the above, and the below. The first stanza is an appeal to Tira'wa; its form is noteworthy when viewed in connection with the opening stanza of the second part. Tira'wa is not addressed directly, but the mind is turned to his place of abode, Awahokshu, as to a definite locality where prayer should be sent, whence help may come. The fixing of the mind upon a holy place serves as a precedent for the establishment of a holy place, ●776 Kusharu (stanza VII), where man is to think of Tira'wa, and where *796 rites in accordance with his thought are to be performed. The *539 order in which the powers are addressed in these first six stanzas reveals something of the Pawnee's idea of man's relation to the supernatural. First, the holy place, the abode of Tira'wa, the father of all, is addressed; second, Hoturu, the invisible Wind, the bearer or giver of breath; third, Chakaru, the Sun, the father of strength; fourth, Ii'Uraru, the Earth, the mother, the conserver of life; fifth, Toharu, Vegetation, the giver of food; sixth, Chaharu, Water, the giver of drink.

*539 Starting from the abode of the central power, Tira'wa, designated *796 in the first stanza, the lesser powers bring to man first breath, next 773 vitality or strength, then the ability to conserve and use that strength, 776 and, finally, they give him food and drink to sustain his life. The physical man stands forth in these first six stanzas as the result of the gifts of the powers.

[*533] The second part of the song is in seven stanzas. The number sug- *796 gests the seven symbolic motions, indicating the four directions, the above, the below, and the center, the ego.

*539 The first stanza of the second part (VII) calls the people to "give heed" to Kusharu, the place set apart for sacred purposes. Concern-

1: Fletcher E-5 (1898-1902) 1904
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From the first extra song we learn that the visions had a dwelling place called "Katasha," located just below the abode of the lesser powers. The visions could be summoned by these powers from Katasha and dispatched upon a mission. After its accomplishment, the visions returned to their dwelling place to "lie at rest" until again summoned by the powers. According to the Ku'rahus, visions were not transitory, called into being for some special occasion and then ceasing to exist, but they were of an enduring nature, retaining an identity by which they could be recognized by one whom they had visited. This differentiates the vision from the dream, which would seem to be the memory of a vision which came while one slept. Waking visions are not spoken of as dreams. 539* 787

The Pawnees locate more or less definitely the powers which can affect man. In the above, far beyond the light, fleecy clouds, where no man has been or can see, dwells Tira'wa atius, the father of all, the giver of life and breath; in a circle below are the lesser powers, like a great council; beneath them is Katasha, the abode of the visions. The birds, the animals, and plants are intermediaries between man and the powers above and the powers below in the earth; they bring him the life and strength which is drawn by the powers from Tira'wa atius. Such is the outline, but the details are complex, no one power or intermediary being fixed or unchangeable in function or character. 776 772

The second extra song, as explained by the Ku'rahus, seems to point out that disaster is sometimes disciplinary and necessary to the strengthening of a man's purpose. 539* 796* [731]

The third extra song teaches that when one dreams of Mother Corn one should go to a shrine where the sacred corn is kept and there offer smoke to the power which sent the corn to him in his dream.

EXTRA NIGHT SONG[a]

Diagram of Time 533* 796*

. .
. .
. .
. .

Rhythmic Rendition

1

Give heed! We tell of Katasha holy. 539*
Whence the dreams come down, when draweth the night time near: 796*
Near the gods[b] is their dwelling.
They who watch o'er men; all silently come they down.

[a] Music on page 333. [b] Gods, meaning powers, is used on account of the rhythm only

2: Lesser E-4, 5 (1930-1931) 1933
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

his position in the morning or the evening, east or west. It follows, therefore, that the dancing begins facing the position of the sun. An adjustment is made so that up to about one o'clock by sun time, the orientation is slantwise to the east, and the dancing begins at the west; later in the afternoon, the evening orientation would be adopted.

The reference of the orientations is as follows: the offering to Tirawahat[2] must be part of any and every Pawnee smoke offering; that to the sun concerns the land of the dead: this is conceived to be in the western sky (see above, White's speech to the people on one late afternoon). In the land of the western sky, the deceased relatives of the living are dancing and singing while the dance goes on upon the earth. Also the dead are smoking to begin their dance, and they point their pipes toward their deceased relations: it is thus a mutual smoke, emphasizing their desire for reunion. The sun is conceived as a brother of the Morning Star, who, since his marriage with the Moon[1] (as the Morning Star's with the Evening Star), has his home or lodge in the west.[3] To this he returns every night. As he passes across the sky he sees all that goes on upon earth, and reports when he reaches his home in the evening. Thus, while the pipe is offered to the dead, it is directed toward the position of the sun, because what the people desire is that it should be reported to the dead that they are smoking to them.

In the vision which is the traditional origin of the smoke offering for Pawnee Ghost Dances,[3] "the Child of the Father in Heaven" is spoken of. This is a definite reference to Christ, who is conceived by the Pawnee as in charge of the region of the west where the dead people are. A similar reference is made in Mrs. Cover's dream of later Ghost Dance times (see below).

A fundamental way in which the Christ legends were fitted into Pawnee ideology is of interest and importance. The human sacrifice to the Morning Star, carried out as a ritual of the Morning Star bundle of the Skiri Pawnee, involves the sacrifice of a captive maiden to a power conceived as deity as a propitiatory offering on behalf of all Pawnee. That is, the maiden dies for the people. In the details a scaffold is involved, to which the maiden is bound by thongs.

The crucifixion of Christ becomes in Ghost Dance conceptions

[1] See Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, p. 6.

[2] Note the relation to matrilocal residence; the western region in old cosmology is dominated by female powers. See also, my Levirate and Fraternal Polyandry among the Pawnee, Man. 1930, no. 78, p. 99.

[3] Murie, Societies, p. 64. Quoted above in first section of this chapter.

3; Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The medicine men claimed to have received their power from supernatural sources and were organized into numerous societies. Linton states that "The function of the medicine men's ceremonies was threefold. By them they renewed their powers, drove disease from the village, and, by means of their sleight-of-hand performances, convinced the people that they really possessed the supernatural powers attributed to them."[9]

According to Miss Fletcher their "religious ceremonies were connected with the cosmic forces and the heavenly bodies. The dominating power was Tirawa, generally spoken of as 'father.' The heavenly bodies, the winds, thunder, lightning, and rain were his messengers. . . . The mythology of the Pawnee is remarkably rich in symbolism and poetic fancy, and their religious system is elaborate and cogent. The secret societies, of which there were several in each tribe, were connected with the belief in supernatural animals. The functions of these societies were to call the game, to heal diseases, and to give occult powers. Their rites were elaborate and their ceremonies dramatic."[11] Next in power to Tirawa was Evening Star, regarded as a woman, and below her was Morning Star, a warrior who drove the other stars before him across the sky. The child of these two deities was the first human being. In the west, Evening Star had a beautiful garden with fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from this garden sprang all the streams of life.

Next in rank to Evening Star and Morning Star were the gods of the four world-quarters who supported the heavens and who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest and northwest, these being the sacred directions of the Pawnee. Dorsey states that "next to these gods in rank are the three gods of the north, supreme among whom is the North-Star, Kararíwari (One-who-does-not-move). Associated with him are Hutukawahar (Wind-ready-to-give) and Hikus (Breath). The North-Star is . . . symbolic of the chief . . . while his assistants, equally beneficent, sent the buffalo and the breath of life."[12] Below these in turn were Sun and Moon, from whose union sprang the second human being on the earth. This daughter, marrying the son of Morning Star and Evening Star, produced the human race.

The lesser gods of the heavens included Star of the South and Big-black-meteoric-star, who was the god of the medicine men. There were also earth gods organized into four lodges, each with its leaders and messengers, these gods being the special patrons of warriors and medicine men.

[9] Linton, Ralph. Annual ceremony of the Pawnee medicine men, Field Museum of Natural History, Leaflet No. 6, Chicago, 1923, pp. 19, 20.

[11] Handbook of American Indians, Bull. 30, Bur. Amer. Ethn., pt. 2, p. 215.

[12] Dorsey, op. cit., p. xli.

3: Densmore E-5 (1919-1920) 1929
NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

in order that the music of the entire tribe may be represented. All these songs are combined in the analyses and the latter class, to some extent, affects the total numbers.

An important point, made evident in this comparative analysis, is the individuality of Pawnee music. It is distinct, in its entirety, from the songs of other tribes, though bearing a resemblance to one tribe or another in separate characteristics. The study of Indian music by an established system of analysis shows there are characteristics that are common to Indian songs of various tribes and different from the music of the white race, and also characteristics which distinguish the songs of one tribe from those of another. Among the former is the change of measure-lengths found in many Indian songs and the downward trend of the melody. The latter are indicated in the foregoing paragraphs. A characteristic of Pawnee music that evades, to some extent, the tabulated analysis, is its simplicity of both melody and rhythm. This can only be appreciated by a study of the melodies themselves. Pawnee music is the plainest of any thus far recorded in its rhythmic divisions and general content. This characteristic of the group may, however, be due to the absence of songs used in treating the sick, which are usually songs of complicated rhythms.

MORNING STAR CEREMONY

A sacred bundle of the Skidi Pawnee was associated with Morning Star and its ceremony was held in the early spring, having for its object the securing of good crops in the coming season. It was the writer's privilege to see the Morning Star bundle in the house of the woman who was its keeper, and also to see its contents exposed in the ceremony. The bundle, in accordance with custom, was hung on the west wall of its owner's house, and with it were hung four large gourds, symbolizing the four deities who were the special guardians of Evening Star and also representing the breasts of the two women in the west, Evening Star and Moon.[15]

The legend from which the Morning Star ceremony arose was related by Coming Sun, whose grandfather was a high priest in the Morning Star village and who received his name by inheritance from this ancestor. With Coming Sun's narrative is combined a limited number of details mentioned by Linton in "Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee."

As already stated, Morning Star ruled in the east and Evening Star in the west. All the stars west of the Milky Way were feminine and those to the east were masculine, but the most powerful were Morning Star and Evening Star. Sun was with the former and Moon was a companion of the latter. One after another the eastern

[15] Cf. Dorsey, Traditions of the Skidi Pawnee, pp. 53-56.

4: Murie I-5 (no date) 1914 NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Organized War Party.

There was a fixed ritual for the control of a war party, which when organized for a foray was for the time being a kind of wolf society (araris taka, society of the white wolf). Its mythological basis is quite fundamental, being that part of the creation myth in which a wolf pursued man and deceived him. In any event, the god of war is a mythical wolf and it was directed that a wolfskin should always be placed at the top of a bundle and that the Skidi were to be the wolf people, as the name implies. Hence, to become a real warrior one must follow the ways of the wolf. One who does so can go to the keeper of a bundle and borrow the war clothing therein together with the pipe. The wolfskin remains in the bundle, but the objects he takes away carry with them the power of the wolf. By their association with the bundle, these war clothes represent the powers of the west and when the borrower is so clothed these powers are with him. He can now organize and lead a war party, but he himself must not imitate the wolf, that is left to his followers. Thus, they become like the wolf first placed upon the earth and may have power to steal upon the enemy and get away without being discovered. 701 721 726 [776]

Before setting out upon a foray a ceremony is held in the village in which as in all else the borrower of the regalia from the bundle is the leader. An altar is made and the bundle from which the regalia are to be borrowed is brought in and placed before the leader. Upon it is the wolfskin and in the minds of the warriors the wolf is present and, hence, always with them upon the way. A buffalo skull rests upon the altar. 726 [778]

The war regalia of the bundle are usually a pipe, a collar, a lariat rope, a hawkskin, an ear of corn (Mother Corn), some red paint, down feathers, and a leader's feathers.

As the bundle is present there must be a north and south side and two leaders. On the march they go abreast with the others behind in order of their rank. A four-day ceremony follows, before setting out. On the way, their organization is for each side, or line: a leader, two scouts, two soldiers, the warriors, and the inexperienced assistants. The four scouts are really charged with the responsibility of the movement and may be said to be in command (see p. 55) though the leaders stand for the highest authority. They scout about in the early hours of the day and at all times on the journey. Their signals are made as wolf cries. When a scout has anything to report, he tells it privately to the leader of his side. At the proper time the leader announces the import of the report in a formal ritualistic manner. They never approach or in fact go anywhere in a direct line, but follow an [201]

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MISCELLANEOUS ITEMS.

In connection with this work certain bits of information came to hand that seem of sufficient importance to record. For these the Editor is chiefly responsible. 776 825

Animal Guardians. Every child while in the womb, at some time, through either parent as a medium, is brought under the power of an animal. This may be discovered in life by the actions of one in illness. The doctors seem able to recognize the affinity and take only such cases as fall within their individual powers. These guardians are usually animals, but trees have been known, also stars, thunder, etc.

Black Moccasins. Anyone who had performed the ceremony of consecrating buffalo four times, could wear black moccasins. These were ceremonial and only worn at the bundle and other sacred ceremonies. 292 796

Calling the Buffalo. At the time of the buffalo hunt one man is selected to make medicine while the kill is on. Among other things, he sits in the lodge or tipi as the case may be, and makes sweeping motions with his hands. After the kill he goes out and selects such carcasses as he desires. 224

Camp Circle. The camp circle was not used by the Pawnee until the ghost dance development. When so used, the tipis were pitched according to the north and south side only, and not according to the bundle scheme. Although tipis were in use long ago when on the hunt, it is denied that a circular or any definite camp form was observed. 361

Chiefs and Medicinemen. Chiefs and members of their families must pray to tirawahat himself and to all in the heavens, never to animals, and what is below. Medicinemen pray to the latter and especially to water animals for from them come their chief powers. The chiefs get their powers through the band bundles, but the medicinemen have nothing to do with these. They form distinct classes and seldom meet or have social intercourse. The people believe that both are equally powerful in magic, but otherwise have their distinct powers and functions. Thus it is said, that at one time a chief and leading medicineman quarreled. The chief called on tirawahat to destroy the medicineman while the medicineman called upon the animals to destroy the chief. Clouds formed in the heavens at the call of the chief and the medicineman was struck by lightning. The chief was glad and after the rain went to the creek to swim. When he jumped into the water, a sharp stick struck him in the side, passing through his body. He also died. After this occurrence, the chiefs and medicinemen never quarreled. (See Dorsey's Skidi volume, 185.) 622 756 782 [565] [773]

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authority, settled all difficulties, and preserved order. 622
He was expected to give freely, and was usually surrounded by dependents. His orders were enforced by 624
four men, called Nahikuts, who stood next to him in social position. Below these ranked the Kurahus or priests, who performed the ceremonies. Of still lower rank were the Kurau or medicine-men and the Narawiraris or warriors, while at the bottom of the scale came the remainder of the village.

The villages composing each band were held to- 631
gether by their religious ceremonies, in which each village had its place and share, and by the council, composed of the chiefs of all the villages. The tribe was similarly united, its council being made up of the councils of the bands. In the meetings of these councils rules of precedence and decorum were rigidly observed. No one could speak who was not entitled to a seat, although a few privileged men were permitted to be present as spectators.

The religion of the Pawnee seems, in certain re- 776 ●
spects, to have reached a higher development than that of any of the other Plains tribes. In their pantheon Tirawa reigned supreme. To him the lesser gods of heaven and earth, as well as the people themselves, acknowledged authority. Tirawa ruled from his position above the clouds, and both created and governed the universe by means of commands executed by the lesser gods, who were subject to him. He was conceived of as a purely spiritual being, and was not identified with any object or natural phenomenon. Next in rank to Tirawa and his wife, the Vault of Heaven, stood the Evening Star, Tcuperikata. She maintained a garden in the west in which there were fields of ripening corn and many buffalo, and from which sprang all streams of life. Even the Sun renewed his fire nightly at her lodge. Through her four assistants, Wind, Cloud, Lightning, and Thunder, she

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transmitted the mandates of Tirawa to the people upon earth. From her union with the god of next rank, the Morning Star, Opirikata, sprang the first being upon earth.

The Morning Star seems to have been a personification of the Male, as the Evening Star was of the female principle. He was conceived of as a warrior who drove the other stars before him from the sky. It was to him that the Skidi band offered a human sacrifice.

Next in rank to the Evening and Morning Stars were the gods of the four world-quarters, who stood in the northeast, southeast, southwest, and northwest, and supported the heavens. To them Tirawa gave the task of dividing up the earth into the divisions which we find at present. Next in rank to these were the three gods of the north,—the North Star, who presided over the council of the stars, and who gave the ceremony for the creation of chiefs to men; the North Wind, who sent men the buffalo, and Hikus, who gave the breath of life. Below these in turn were the Sun and Moon, from whose union had sprung the second being on earth who, mating with the offspring of the Morning and Evening Stars, produced the human race.

There were a number of minor heavenly gods,—the second Morning Star, who assisted the Morning Star, the Big-Black-Meteoric-Star, who was the special god of medicine-men, the Star of the South, who stood at the southern end of the Milky Way and received the spirits of the dead, Skiritiuhuts ("Fool-Wolf"), who felt slighted in the councils of the gods, and, who, in revenge, introduced death into the world, and several others.

The greater part of the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The sacred bundle of each village was believed to have been given to its ancestor by one of these heavenly beings; and when the villages of the

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band assembled for ceremonies, they arranged themselves according to the positions of their guardian stars in the heavens.

Only less powerful than the gods of the heavens were the gods of the earth. These were for the most part identified with animals in the same way that the heavenly gods were identified with stars. The earthly gods were organized into four lodges each of which had its leaders and its messengers, who served as intermediaries between the earthly gods and men. In these lodges they gathered in council to make or mar the fortunes of men, and to them favored mortals were taken to be instructed in the mysteries of earth-craft. The earthly gods were the special patrons of medicine-men and warriors.

The religious ceremonies of the Pawnee were numerous and varied. They may be divided into two main classes,—ceremonies, which were in charge of societies whose members had certain secrets in common, and ceremonies which were participated in by the whole village, band, or tribe. To the first class belong the ceremonies of the warrior societies and the medicine-men. To the second class belong those which had to do with the welfare of the people.

Practically all the ceremonies of the second class centered about collections of sacred objects, called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were two additional bundles which were the property of the whole tribe. The objects in the bundles varied, but had a general similarity, each bundle containing at least one pipe, tobacco, paints, the skins of certain birds, and the Mother-Corn. The last consisted of two ears of corn, which were the most sacred objects in the bundle. When not in use, the objects were wrapped in a buffalo hide and hung from the wall of the lodge. In connec-

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autumn. In winter the gods were thought to have withdrawn from the earth. The first thunder in the spring was thought to be a notification that they had once more turned their attention to it, and the people at once held a ceremony of welcome,—the Thunder Ceremony. This ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year, and was followed in regular order by a number of others. First came the ceremony called Paruxti, by which the deity of that name was supposed to be called to earth, and at which sacred corn was shelled and given to the people for seed corn. Immediately after this followed the ceremony, called the Planting of the Corn. When the first shoots of the new crop had appeared, a ceremony called Going After the Plant was performed. In the autumn there was a Harvest Ceremony, followed by the ceremony known as the Making of New Mother Corn, at which the Mother-Corn in all the bundles was renewed. In addition to these seasonal ceremonies there were a number of others whose time was not fixed.

The so-called Thunder Ceremony ushered in the ceremonial year. Although neither the most important or the most elaborate of the Pawnee ceremonies, it was, more than any other, at the bottom of their ceremonial life. It paved the way for the ceremonies of agriculture and the rites for the calling of the buffalo. It promoted the well-being of the tribe, and was efficacious in driving back the malignant being of the southwest, the bringer of disease. It instructed the people as to their duties and privileges in their relationship to the deities, and finally it afforded many opportunities for direct communication with the deities themselves in a number of rites of sacrifice which formed an intrinsic part of the ceremony as a whole.

The first thunder in the spring was thought to be the voice of Paruxti, a deity who was the messenger of

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776 Tirawa and combined in himself the essence of the
796 four servants of the Evening Star,—Wind, Cloud,
[82] Lightning, and Thunder. He passed over the land in a storm, and as he spoke, the earth awakened, and life was kindled anew. Returning to his lodge in the west, he kindled new fire and offered smoke to the great heavenly gods, thereby informing them that he had visited the earth, and that all was well. The gods then turned their attention earthward, and prepared to receive the prayers and offerings of men.

796 As soon as the thunder had been heard, the priests of the Four Direction bundles assembled and prepared for the ceremony, which was held even if the tribe were away from their permanent villages on the hunt. Going to the lodge where the Aripahut bundle was kept, they took it down, and, when they were seated, the chief priest opened it and spread out the sacred objects. He then took up the rattles which had been fastened to the bundle, and giving them to the four other priests, said, "Priests, Tirawa has spoken. We must now sing the songs that were given to us with this bundle. It is a long time since we sang them, and we will make some mistakes, but Tirawa will help
533 us with the ceremony." Shaking their rattles as an
[539] accompaniment, they then sang,—
796

First Song.

"They sang this song above, they have spoken.
They have put new life into the earth.
Paruxti speaks through the clouds,
And the power has entered Mother Earth.
The earth has received the powers from above."

This verse was repeated 56 times, a single word being changed at each singing. At the end of the singing the priests made four grunting sounds, symbolizing the noise of the thunder in the four world-quarters, and laid down their rattles. After each of the songs of the ritual this was repeated, and after

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The Sacrifice to the Morning Star by the Skidi Pawnee

The religion of the Pawnee was, in some ways, more highly developed than that of any of the other Plains tribes. At the head of their pantheon stood Tirawa, the creator of the universe, who seems to have been conceived of as a purely spiritual being. Below him there were a great number of gods of varying importance who were divided into two great classes, those of the earth and those of the heavens. The former were inferior in rank to the heavenly gods, and were the special guardians of individuals and secret societies. They were, for the most part, identified with animals. The latter were the guardians and helpers of the people as a whole and were, with a few exceptions, identified with stars. The most important of the heavenly gods were the Morning and Evening Stars, who represented respectively the male and female principle. The first being on earth was believed to have sprung from their union. A fuller account of Pawnee mythology will be found in Leaflet 5 "The Thunder Ceremony of the Pawnee."

The ceremonial side of Pawnee religion showed an equally high development. The worship of the heavenly gods centered around collections of sacred objects called by the whites sacred bundles. Each village possessed one of these bundles, and there were others which were the property of the tribe as a whole. It was believed that each bundle had been given to the people in ancient times by one of the heavenly beings,

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hind the altar. The girl, who was constantly attended by a guardian, was brought in and seated on the south side of the lodge. The chief of the village took his place on the southwest, with the leader of the war party on his left, while the man who had actually captured the girl sat on the northeast. 796

The priest built two little fires of sweet grass, one to the east, and the other to the west of the fireplace. The girl was taken to the eastern fire, undressed, and her body bathed in the smoke. Her guardian then painted her whole body red and dressed her in a black skirt and robe which were kept in the sacred bundle between sacrifices. The man who had captured the girl then went to the altar, and was dressed by the priest in another costume, also kept in the bundle. He was given black leggings and moccasins, his face and hair were painted red, and a fan-shaped head-dress of twelve eagle feathers was attached to his hair in such a way that it stood out straight over the back of his head at right angles to his body. This was the costume in which the Morning Star usually appeared in visions, and with its assumption the captor seems to have become a personification of that deity. 727 782 796 [302] [302] [776] [787]

After these ceremonies had been performed, the captor left the lodge and passed through the village, entering every lodge and warning those who were to take part in the ceremony to come to the chief's lodge. Each family gave him a little red and black paint and certain other objects which were needed in the ceremony. When he had completed the circuit, he returned to the chief's lodge, and errand men were sent out to invite the chiefs and priests of all the villages to come to the ceremony. The Pawnee village was a social as well as a geographical unit. Several villages might live together. Each of the priests and chiefs had his prescribed place in the circle, while the space 796 [361] [621]

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[751] attached to a bandoleer of beads or seeds. Instead of
756 the bandoleer a gaming ring containing charms was sometimes worn on the arm. Each medicine man had a bag, generally made from the skin of an animal tanned whole, in which he kept his roots, paints, white clay, and other objects used in working his cures. The latter varied with the individual, but usually consisted of deer tails, the leg bones and claws of eagles, human bones, dried fingers, and very often the maw stone of a buffalo. The last was greatly valued, as it was supposed to contain the life or soul of the buffalo. The medicine men's bags with their contents were usually handed down from father to son, or were given to a newly initiated medicine man by his instructor.

755 The methods used to work cures varied with the nature of the disease and the customs of the medicine man. Diseases of unknown origin and those ascribed to witchcraft could only be treated by some one who could work a counter spell. Such diseases were usually eradicated by sucking a feather, small stone, blood, or some other object from the patient, singing and the shaking of a rattle being part of the performance. The object sucked out was always thrown into the fire and consumed so that the seat or cause of the trouble could not enter again into the patient or into
756 any one else. All medicine men knew more or less of
[278] roots and herbs, which they administered as teas or in powdered form. The pay of the medicine man, which was given him when his services were no longer required, varied with the wealth of the patient. It sometimes consisted of buffalo robes and parfleches of dried meat, but was more often a sack of corn or a few strands of dried, braided pumpkins. He was paid even when he failed to work a cure.

756 The supernatural beings from whom the Pawnee
776 medicine men derived their powers were, for the most part, identified with animals. Not all animals were

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able or willing to confer power, and there are some 756
indications that all those recognized as guardians were 776
related to one or another of the four supernatural beings in the west, the messengers of the Evening Star. It was believed that every man passed at birth under the influence of some supernatural being. No one knew who this guardian was, but he would manifest himself later in the man's career. He was usually discovered when the man fell sick during childhood. Medicine men were sent for, and the guardian of the one who was to be able to make the cure was thereby shown to be the guardian of the child. If, on reaching manhood, the boy desired to become a medicine man, he would seek to acquire powers from his guardian.

The powers conferred by the supernatural beings 756
were of three sorts, power to cure the sick, power to [776]
perform feats of magic, and power of a third sort, [789]
called *pikawiu*, for which there is no equivalent in English. Of these, the curative power was considered by far the most important. The ability to perform feats of magic was simply a tangible evidence that the medicine man possessed the knowledge which would enable him to cure the sick. The third sort of power resembled hypnotism in some of its manifestations. By it the medicine man was enabled to subjugate the will of another to his own and to render his patient passive during ceremonies so that his power could go to the soul of the patient and remove the evil influence which was at the root of the disease. The *pikawiu* power was also likened to an arrow or bullet in its ability to cut off life. Medicine men could throw this power into an enemy as one would shoot an arrow, and the individual attacked in this way was helpless until some other medicine man, who understood the power, exercised his magic to draw it out. Among the Pawnee 754
there was a class of men and women, not true medicine men, who possessed this power and used it for evil

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754 purposes. Their guardians were certain animals which
[776] were conceived of as having evil spirits. They were
[565] recruited from the lower classes in the tribe, and were feared and disliked by the better element. Like the medicine men, they were organized into a society, but nothing is known of their ceremonies.

756 The Pawnee medicine men were organized into a number of societies which were united by certain secrets which they had in common. In addition to these secrets, which were known to all medicine men, but concealed from the rest of the tribe, each society and even each member had individual secrets. The oldest of these societies was that of the Pumpkin Vine village all of whose members were said to have originally been medicine men. Its members derived their powers from a number of different guardians. In the other medicine societies, which were organized at a later date, all the members derived their powers from the same guardian. A man might become a medicine man as the result of a supernatural experience during which powers were conferred upon him directly by his
[787] guardian. Such experiences were sought through long continued prayer and fasting. More commonly, when a man desired to become a medicine man and had determined his guardian, he applied to some medicine man who had derived his powers from that being, and asked for instruction. If the medicine man believed him to be sincere and was willing to accept the gifts which he offered in payment, he received him as a pupil and, at the next meeting of the medicine lodge, took him into the lodge with him and instructed him. The lodge sometimes continued in session two months; and
[837] during this time, as part payment, the medicine man exercised the rights of a husband toward his pupil's wife. Often a medicine man would have several pupils whose wives would remain with him in his booth in the medicine lodge. He might instruct them also if he

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honesty. No such meaning attaches to the Indian equivalent of this phrase. They take horses by stratagem or secretly, by the usual, and to them legitimate, methods of warfare. To speak of their stealing horses, using that verb in the sense which we commonly give it, would be like saying that an army stole the cannon which it captured in an engagement with the enemy. Captured horses were the legitimate spoils of war. The wealth of the Indians was in their horses. They had no fortified places, no ships of war, no cannon, no works of art. Their only valuable possessions were their horses. These were the only property that could be carried off. Therefore, when an expedition was made against a hostile tribe, scalps and horses were naturally its object. Horses, being their only valuable possessions, constituted their medium of exchange, so far as they had any. Did a man wish to purchase an ornament, or an article of dress which took his fancy, he gave a horse for it. If he bought a wife he paid for her in horses. The most valuable present that could be made was a good horse; and horses were often given by the well-to-do to their friends and relations who had been sick or unfortunate. On the other hand, when, as was sometimes the case, a conquered tribe was condemned to pay a war indemnity, they paid it in horses. It is related that when the Skidi broke their treaty with the other bands, and were afterward conquered by them, they were obligated to pay such a fine.

This view of Indian warfare being understood, the motive of the hero stories here given, and of many of the folk-tales, becomes plain.

The Pawnees are essentially a religious people. They worship *Ti-ra'-wa*, who is in and of everything. Unlike many of the Indian tribes of the West, they do not adore any material thing. They regard certain places as sacred, but these are so only because blessed by the Divine presence. The Pawnee Deity is not personified. He is intangible, quite as much so as the God of the Christians. The sacred character of *Ti-ra'-wa* extends to animal nature. The fishes which swim in the rivers, the birds of the air and the beasts which roam over the prairie, have sometimes intelligence, knowledge and power far beyond those of man. But they are not gods. Their miraculous attributes are given them by the Ruler, whose servants they are, and who often makes them the medium of his communications to man. They are his messengers—his angels—and their powers are always used for good.

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732 Prayers are made to them; sometimes for direct help in time of need,
776 but more often for intercession. Often in the folk-tales it will be seen that when the blessing asked for is some small thing, a prayer is made to the animals (*Na-hu'rac*), but if the petitioners are asking for some great thing, something which is very difficult to grant, then the prayer is made to "One Above," to "The Ruler," that is, to the Supreme Being.

782 Nothing of importance was ever undertaken without a prayer for
776 help, for success. All the serious undertakings of the year, whose
796 success would affect the general welfare, were preceded by religious ceremonies, when all the tribe took part, and prayers were made and sacrifices offered to *Ti-ra'-wa;* and in all lesser enterprises, the individuals who were interested humbled themselves and implored the Divine assistance. A party starting off on the warpath prayed for success and made a burnt offering. Prayer and sacrifice always marked the beginning of the feast, and often its end. Success in their undertakings was acknowledged by grateful offerings to the Ruler. The victorious warrior sometimes sacrificed the scalp torn from the head of his enemy, and this was burned with elaborate ceremonies by the High Priest. He who brought back from a foray many horses, gave one to the priest as a thank-offering to the Ruler. One of the well-known Seven Brothers said to me, "It is our aim, after we have been helped, to give thanks."

The feeling of these Indians toward their God is one of humility and reverence. They do not love him, but they look to him for help at all times. The young are exhorted to humble themselves before him, to pray to him, to look to One Above, to ask help from the Ruler. In the stories which are included in this book the allusions constantly made to *Ti-ra'-wa*—the Supreme Power—the prayers offered and the humility and self-abnegation so often expressed, show faith, profound religious feelings, and great elevation of thought.

114 Among tribal names of North American Indians, none is more familiar to us than Pawnee; yet of no tribe is less known. Frequent allusions to them occur in the writings of early travelers in the West; but only one satisfactory attempt has been made to write a connected history of this family. In the *Magazine of American History* for

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would just put these together and it would be a good soup when you had nothing else to eat. We like to eat however it tastes, but we certainly like to eat a well-cooked dish. In the spring my grandmother went out and collected wild turnips and things to save up for the winter. She never went dancing. Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy had a very different personality from my grandmother. She was not at all bashful like my grandmother, who was very good at doing all sorts of things, but didn't do much talking. The reason my grandmother was bashful in this way was because she was humble and sad on account of the death of her sons in the battles with the Poncas.

The little boy Yellow Calf, grandson of Old-Lady-Grieves-the-Enemy, was six or seven years old and the constant companion of Otter. His name *Ari-pahat*, "calf-red," referred not to a red color, but to a tawny yellow. The name had an important sacred reference—the calfskin wrapping around the Evening Star bundle, and it must have been given to him in the course of a ceremony to which his family contributed. His father, High Noon, was the middle one of White Woman's three brothers who always came to the house. Otter called High Noon *tiwatciriks*, "uncle," and as the nephew, Otter called Yellow Calf *piirau*, "child." High Noon sent meat to the house on behalf of his son. Otter describes him in the following terms:

> Yellow Calf was a bit livelier than me. We played together. He wanted to fight sometimes but I didn't want to. He wasn't rough though. When we got to Oklahoma we separated, and we never did get together again.
>
> His family was unfortunate for even when they succeeded in getting horses, the horses died. But afterward Yellow Calf had good luck. First he married an old lady who had no relatives of her own and he inherited all her land. Then when he married a younger woman, his wife got some land of her own. They had many daughters, all of whom married and went all over to live. When he died, he left a large family.

The occasion of Yellow Calf's first marriage is an interesting story. When he was about eighteen, Yellow Calf was seized with hysteria. He imagined he saw a kind of Pawnee Lorelei—a little deer called *tatatsiks* that turned into a woman. The family did all they could to cure him but everything they tried was in vain. Then a medicine woman of about fifty said she could cure him, providing they could get married (Old Lady Tsitawa—see pp. 294-295, 305). They did marry and the cure was successful, and Yellow Calf prospered after that. Otter's mother White Woman remarked at the time that it was a pity Yellow Calf's mother wasn't alive when he was having all that trouble or she could have told

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the universe, meaning literally the inside land, and that his house was a small model of it. The infinite cosmos was his constant source of strength and his ultimate progenitor, and there was no reason why he should hesitate to set out alone and explore the wide world, even though years should pass before he returned. Not only was he not confined within four walls but he was not closed in with a permanent group of people. The special concern of his mother did not mean that he was so closely embedded with her emotionally that he was not able to move about.

Other people also were clearly concerned with him in a variety of ways. There was no mistaking the constant concern of Old Bull for the boy, Otter, in the earth lodge. And as for his grandmother, this was of course patently clear. There was no mistaking the affection felt for him by Horse Rider. Even from the earliest time the Pawnee knew there were differences in kinds of affection. He knew he should go to his grandmother for intimate care but he also looked up to his mother as his provider and protector. His father he regarded in the same way wherever he might be, and, as we saw (p. 41), his mother had pointed out to him that he should emulate his father. Otter's Uncle War Cry and his other uncles came to the house and again showed affectionate concern, and one winter when he broke his leg his uncle stayed home and nursed and protected him. He knew very early that he "had a home" in the house of Eagle Chief which had been literally demonstrated to him in special feasts and visits. His older half-brother Fox Chief was there for him even though not in the house. The breakup of the household and travel on the hunt did not dismay him, even when his grandmother stayed behind one winter, for his community traveled with him. This bringing of the community's concern to the child's attention from an early age was deliberately carried out.

The wide application of the kin terms gave the family relationships a much wider reference. It made him realize that there were shades of closeness with his immediate kin and that many varying factors determined this just as they did in his outside attachments. The case of his mother's half-brothers was a graphic example. He found out that, in the last analysis, one made one's own relationships with people and that none was absolutely given.

The intensified family togetherness of our present society stands in sharp contrast to these arrangements. The very physical plant of our family household fosters this intensity. Within this century, the apartment or family dwelling has become more and more isolated. In the past ten years, the isolation has become absolute and we have become the loneliest people that ever existed. Mechanical elevators, mechanical shopping, mechanical transportation, and other mechanical devices preclude almost all casual social contacts. At the same time, within the apartment or household the sexes are thrown together in an incest-breeding welter of

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342 a constant stream. In the west was the Evening Star, a beautiful woman,
772 Goddess of Night and Germination, and in her garden the corn and buffalo were constantly being renewed so that the people could eat; and in the western part of the house the sacred buffalo skull and the bundle with its ears of corn symbolized this power. In the eastern sky was the Morning Star—god of light, of fire, and of war. As he rose every morning he sent his beam into the long entryway of the house and lit the fire in an act of cosmic procreation, symbolizing his first union with the Evening Star in the times of the great creation when he had had to fight off the guardians of night with which the Evening Star surrounded herself. Finally the conflict was won and Morning Star mated with Evening Star and fathered the girl that was the first human being to be placed on earth.

342 The house was at the same time the universe and also the womb of a
772 woman, and the household activities represented her reproductive pow-
353 ers. The beds of the women along the circular walls were appropriately
84 ranged by age to represent the main stages in a woman's life—the youngest women near the west where the garden of the Evening Star was located, the mature women in the middle of each side (due north and due south) and the beds of the old women near the exit to the east, for at their age they were "on the way out." Being at home was spoken of as being "inside"; *ti*-ka, he is-*inside*; the house, *a*-ka-*ru*, the *inside*-place; the universe, ka-*huraru*, the *inside*-land.

776 The supreme god and First Cause of all was *Tirawahat*, The Expanse
342 of the Heavens. Beyond all others, he directed everything and to his
[823] power there were four direct paths leading from the house to the sky in
[182] the four semicardinal directions—northwest, northeast, southeast, and southwest; offerings were made from these positions in the house so that they would be readily received.

361 Everyone in the house, including the boy, Otter, had a clear consciousness
342 of these things as they moved about within it. Now secure in his bed, the boy was also secure in the world. Outside there were a hundred houses like his, clustered close together on the high banks of Beaver Creek, and on the hills the sentinels were watching for the lurking enemy.
342 The round houses with their high-domed roofs were covered with thatch and then with tamped-down earth. As the fires began to be lit, smoke
[354] rose here and there from the smokeholes. Inside, the women were cook-
[252] ing breakfast as White Woman was now doing.

252 White Woman went over to the supply platform, loosened the draw-
262 string of the skin sack that contained dried corn kernels, and removed the skin cover. She poured a handful of dried kernels for each person into a
[251] large wooden bowl about 15 inches across and 3 inches deep. She washed the kernels at least twice to remove any dirt and chaff, then dumped them into a tin bucket of cold water that she hung over the fire to boil. Three

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ble he would kill a buffalo and pronounce it holy. Then he called in the five official Skidi priests, who were the ministers of the four semicardinal-direction bundles and that of the evening Star, and entertained them at a feast of buffalo ribs, telling them of his vision. His wife sliced, dried, and packaged the rest of the consecrated buffalo meat and kept it in her storage pit at home until the spring, when the ceremony was to be performed.

The visionary became a principal actor in the ceremony and made a major contribution of buffalo meat to the ritual feast, while his wife contributed a considerable amount of the boiled dried corn. He considered it a great privilege to participate in the ceremony and to receive instructions from the priests concerning the cosmic traditions. During the ceremony he would impersonate an important god of the creation, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, the personified Thunderstorm with its four aspects of cloud, wind, lightning, and thunder. After the Star Gods had created man in their own image, they combined the powers of the storm into one great person, *Paruksti*, the Wonderful, and sent him to earth to inspect their handiwork. In him were embodied all the self-renewing powers of earth. In the course of his travels he acted as scout, found the buffalo, and taught the people how to hunt them. The visionary was to impersonate the god in two roles—one in the symbolic acting-out of the male role in procreation and later as the guardian of their fortunes in the buffalo hunt.

In this ceremony of the young holy corn plant, the keepers of all the twelve sacred bundles had assembled in the lodge of the Southwest (or Southeast) Semicardinal-direction priest. The Evening Star priest and the four semicardinal-directions priests sat at the west and the other bundle ministers were ranged along the sides in positions appropriate to the place of origin of their legendary villages and their cosmic affiliations.

The visionary stood before the Evening Star priest, who arranged the buffalo robe that he wore and tied the buffalo hair rope around his waist so that he was dressed as a priest. The Evening Star priest now instructed the visionary in what he was to do. He gave him a small pipe filled with tobacco from the sacred bundle. The visionary then led the procession that was to go into the field where the sacred corn plant was growing. It was the field of the wife of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle priest. The procession lined up on the north side of the ceremonial earth lodge, the visionary in the lead, the four-directions priests following behind him and an errand man following after to serve them, carrying a lighted brand with which to light the visionary's pipe. The Evening Star priest remained in the lodge at the west and the ministers of the other sacred bundles continued to sit in their places. As the procession emerged from the lodge everyone in the village was standing on the

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wool covering and placed it on the ground before him, offering his pipe to it to smoke. 243 [793]

The next steps involved the transformation of a dogwood stick into a "body" for the plant, by an expert arrowshaft maker, for whom tools were ready in the sacred bundle—a new knife, an elkhorn arrowshaft straightener, a grooved sandstone smoother, some sinew, and different-colored paints. After the shaft was made, red and white paints were applied, and it was anointed with milk from the breasts of a young nursing mother who was called in to volunteer this donation. In their proceedings, they were symbolically creating a young mother out of the corn plant which was tied onto the head of the shaft. The shaft was painted with a little red groove near the top to signify the face, and a red line drawn down the length signified the windpipe, breath, and the principle of life. First the priest spoke to the new young mother corn, after which it was passed around among the other bundle ministers in the lodge who spoke of it as "the voice." Then it was passed around a second time and all breathed upon it—the Evening Star priest first, followed by all the others. [322] [793]

Now the errand man went through the village crying out that the new mother needed a robe, a cowskin in the hair, and a buffalo hair belt. The donor brought them to the lodge. The last act of the ceremony consisted in wrapping Mother in her new robe with her face exposed so that she might watch over the people. She was tied to the outside of the Southwest (or Southeast) bundle. [624]

Just before this final step, the visionary was dressed up by the priest for his second role that he would carry throughout the summer buffalo hunt until they arrived back at the village. He would now impersonate *Paruksti*, Wonderful Power, the Thunderstorm. He was wrapped in a buffalo skin that he had specially prepared, and wore special moccasins and a buffalo-hair rope belt tied in the back in four loops to represent the rain. His duties would be very trying, for all summer while they were on the march he would have to remain wrapped tightly in his robe, refrain from washing or bathing, handling knives, scratching himself, or participating in any acts of violence. He must think only gentle and noble thoughts. If his feet were allowed to touch water, there would be violent thunderstorms. In his person he held the great force of the creative power of all the universe. When they reached the buffalo herd, as the hunters stood lined up ready to surround it, this holy man would have to kneel facing the herd and pray to the cosmic powers, naming the buffalo and the eagles that he had consecrated to them in the past. Should anyone be injured in the course of the attack on the herd, the people would blame him and feel that he had had evil thoughts and had not been sincere. Throughout the hunt one or the other of the prominent old men would stay with him, talking to him and seeing that he did not transgress 243 787 [796]

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15

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY

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A Summary Ceremony—a Symbolic Washing of All Ceremonial Objects—a History of the Ceremony—Celestial and Doctors' Symbolism Combined—Ceremony Explained—Participation of People in Ceremony

THE GREAT CLEANSING CEREMONY that was held before leaving on the hunt was, in effect, a summary of all the Pawnee religious beliefs and practices. In Pawnee ideology, the sky was one realm and the earth and the waters another. The priests were in charge of the cosmic ceremonies, and the medicine men, or doctors, were in charge of the animals that were connected with the earth and the waters. In this last category, the physical structure of man and his physical health were included. But ultimately, according to Pawnee thought, the sky was the first cause and the continuing source of power in both realms. The doctors conducted a separate cycle of ceremonies from the priests, and in the fall, at the gala ceremony that was held after the harvest was in, they acknowledged their celestial origin by hanging buffalo-hide cutouts of the Morning Star and the other sky gods from the ceiling of the ceremonial lodge. During the forthcoming summer hunt, a specially selected doctor would kill a buffalo bull and a cow to provide the skins for this purpose and another bull and cow to build up the images of their own special gods.

The central feature of the ceremony they would now conduct was the carrying of all the sacred objects to the stream, there washing them symbolically. Then the people would clean up the whole village and wash themselves in the stream. This great cleansing ritual was under the direction of the Big Black Meteoric Star bundle, the northeast of the semi-cardinal-direction bundles. In mythohistory this god was a sort of master

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of general ceremonial procedure. He was also the patron of knowledge as indicated in the star chart attached to his sacred bundle, and also patron of the knowledge of the earth and the waters and the doctors, who took care of this aspect of man's life. He controlled the coming of the night, the animals, and, particularly, the buffalo.

The Great Cleansing Ceremony was conducted under his tutelage twice a year just before going out on the hunt. It combined the symbolisms from both the celestial and the earth and water realms. In the creation ritual held after the first thunder in the spring, the systematic theology of the cosmos was given. The doctors also had a systematic ideology of their own. While many of their curing practices and behavior had much in common with other individual North American Indian shamans or medicine men, all their animal cults were organized into a unified association outside of which no one was able to practice lest he be accused of witchcraft operations. Traditionally, this was founded in the Pumpkin-Vine Village where all the men were doctors. This village was anciently supposed to have been associated with Village-Lying-across-a-Ridge. The association of the doctors was attributed to a single founder who experienced a series of visions that formed an integral system, paralleling in a sense the formation of the political federation of villages. The visionary had a series of visions in an animal lodge that was located under the water, where he learned the true nature of the animals and illusionist techniques of sleight of hand and other arts of suggestion as modes of curing and of influencing events. He was also taken over the country by the animals in his subsequent visions and taught the value of different roots and herbs. Eventually he invited a few other men to his house and shared the mysteries with them. After the harvest and the summer buffalo hunt, still others were invited and learned from these new doctors. They constructed little lodges of willows and cottonwoods inside the earth lodge, and to each the leader gave the skin of an animal that was to characterize his cult. Within his individual booth, the animal would instruct the new recruit in a dream. Then calling each in turn, the original visionary, through a process of hypnotic transfer, taught each head doctor the songs and dances of his special cult. Dressed in their animal-skin costumes, these men danced and were taught the arts of suggestion and sleight of hand. First they practiced hypnotizing one another and then, going out of the lodge, made a public display of their powers. After the ceremony they deposited in the water of the stream, the little lodges they had built and the images they had made. When they got home, they were told to hold their dances in winter and spring after the first thunder, but not to display their hypnotic and sleight-of-hand powers until the fall, when all had returned to the village after the summer hunt. A great public ceremony was to be held for the benefit of the people, lasting two or three

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was pointed toward the nose of the buffalo skull that rested below on the altar platform, and a few kernels dropped there so that Father Buffalo might eat.

Few ceremonial acts of the Pawnee were so obscure that they could not be understood in terms of his "logic of the universe." A rhythm of alternation of cosmic powers was a very important phase of that logic. The winter and the summer, the night and the day, succeeded each other in a never-ending round. The powers of the south succeeded the powers of the north and the powers of the east followed those of the west. As these two rhythms were combined, the semicardinal directions ran their biennial course—northwest, southwest, northeast, southeast—and for each of these a sacred bundle took charge of the tribe in its turn through the alternate seasons. In many functions of his life, including the household, the Pawnees followed this alternating principle. As he valued these alternating rhythms of the universe, he also followed a pattern of rotation of power and responsibility in all phases of his life, particularly in his political life and in his appeal to the cosmos.

Three ceremonies celebrated the harvest, each representing a different aspect of the sacred tradition. The first for the *Green Corn* was under the Evening Star bundle that embodied the tradition of the original creation of the universe and its yearly renewal.

The second was the main harvest ceremony and was celebrated when the *Mature Corn* was gathered. It was under the authority of the four semicardinal-direction bundles that carried the theme of the progression of the seasons and the growth of the sacred corn into their major deity, Mother Corn.

The third ceremony celebrated the alliance of the Skidi villages in their political and religious life. Appropriately, it was conducted under the aegis of the Skull bundle of the Wonderful Person. This represented the cult of the visionary chief who in past times had gathered them all together and established their organization. It was known as the *Four-Pole Ceremony*—signifying the four semicardinal directions, which taken together, represented the whole world. In the course of the ceremony warriors went out symbolically in all directions to see that their land was safe.

The Pawnees had a marked preference for complex ceremonial symbolism, and each of these cosmic authorities had a somewhat variant "ceremonial vocabulary" that was systematically organized in the lore of its sacred bundle, which also contained the paraphernalia for its performance.

The ceremonial pattern of the green corn ceremony under the Evening Star bundle was ritually quite simple. No songs were sung by the priests and no dances carried out. When the people were getting ready to settle back in the village, the Evening Star priest called in the other four

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243 778 793 priests of the four direction bundles. They were representing the four aspects of the primordial storm given by Heaven to the Evening Star to assist her in the process of creation. The Evening Star priest also invited a number of noted warriors and old men and had a quantity of green corn cooked for their feast. The sacred bundle was opened and its pipe [276] smoked and shared with the Evening Star and the other great western [782] powers by pointing its mouthpiece toward the west and then in the same way with the other celestial gods who took part in the ongoing of the universe. The contents of the sacred bundle were passed through an incense of burning sweet grass smoke, and an offering of the corn was [574] made to the gods. Then the invited guests had their feast of green corn. After the Evening Star bundle had completed its ritual, all other sacred bundles followed suit, offering green corn to the bundles and having a corn feast.

243 778 776 [793] The main harvest ceremony which centered around the Mature Corn was a continuation of the symbolic theme of the life cycle of Mother Corn carried by the four semicardinal-direction bundles. Its connection with the progression of the seasons was also part of the ritual pattern.

In the spring, after the Evening Star priest had performed the creation ritual for the renewal of all things, the four direction priests began their ritual cycle in anticipation of the planting time by a ceremonial distribution of the seeds of the sacred corn to the twelve owners of the sacred bundles whose wives planted them in special hills in the fields. Pursuing the theme of seasonal succession, the four sacred bundles of the group took charge of their ritual in turn. For the winter season, a North bundle was in charge. At the ceremony when the sacred seeds were distributed, the North bundle gave over its sacred mission to one of the South bundles of the group. A number of cornstalks symbolized this transfer of power, and these were now handed from the North to the South bundle. After the ground-breaking ceremony which belonged to a different cult (Skull bundle—Evening Star), the second ceremony of the Four Direction series concerning the Mother Corn was carried out. In this case the birth, infancy, and adolescence of Mother Corn were symbolized by uprooting the new little shoots of the sacred corn plants and providing one of them with a shaft on which a mouth and windpipe were painted to represent its life. The Young Mother Corn had carried them through the summer attached to the outside of the sacred bundle. Now the maturing Mother Corn had attained her full power to look after the people. The ceremony of the Mature Corn represented her installation to this office. It was also the occasion when the four-direction-bundle group shifted the ceremonial prerogative from the South bundle to the North bundle for the forthcoming winter. Some of the cornstalks of the sacred corn from the current harvest were given to this bundle to signify its mission. In addition to the principle of the succession of winter and sum-

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mer seasons followed by the four-direction-bundle group, another principle of alternation of powers was carried through as a means of assuring complete cosmic protection. This was the alternation of the powers of the western and of the eastern skies in successive years. There was, therefore, a fourfold alternation of bundles in the four-direction-bundle group over a cycle of two years: North*west*-South*west* in one year, and North*east*-South*east* in the subsequent year. The west and east each dominated a year, while north and south moved in half-year seasonal cycles for winter and summer.

As they were returning from the summer buffalo hunt when they had gotten about half way home, the priest of the summer direction bundle had sent a young man to the sacred corn hill to make an offering to it of buffalo tongue and heart meat. He pressed alternately into the corn hill a strip of tongue and a strip of heart in the four semicardinal directions.

Now with the harvest in, the priest asked his wife to clear out their earth lodge so that the ceremony for the Mature Mother Corn could be held. The women removed all the beds and other furniture and swept it out well, and the priest took down the sacred bundle from where it had been hanging at the west and placed it on the altar. Before dawn he sent four men to the sacred corn hill in the fields to bring in four stalks of the holy corn with the ears still on them. In the course of the ceremony, these would replace the old Mother Corn ears in the sacred bundles. In this way the sacred bundles always contained some fertile seeds.

The priest now invited a number of other people to participate. He called the other four high priests—his three colleagues of the four-direction-bundle group and the Evening Star priest. He also called in the holy man who had taken office when the sacred seeds were distributed in the spring and who had lived under severe taboos from which he would only now be released. All summer while they were on the march, this holy man had been living under the watchful eye of the priest. Also invited was the young woman who had contributed milk from her breasts at the ceremony of the Young Corn Plant in order to symbolize conception and the other owners of the sacred bundles.

When everyone was assembled, all went down to the camps where the women had piled their mature corn and other crops. The priest announced that Mother Corn was about to be installed and asked them to bring their harvest offerings. They came with their best ears of corn, and as the women entered the ceremonial lodge they put the corn on the north side in piles according to the color. Any of the ears that had the male spike at the tip, a feature that was regularly found in the holy corn, might be included in the sacred bundle in the course of the ceremony that was to follow. The women also brought beans and squash for the

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harvest offering. Then the women left the lodge and the ceremony was carried on entirely by the men. Now a man was sent to the sacred corn hill to uproot any stalks that remained there with the ears still on them. They were tied to the northwest post of the lodge, which symbolized the Garden of the Gods. When the new winter direction priest was installed at the end of the proceedings, he would receive these as a sign of his office.

The priest was now ready to conduct the ceremony. He sat at the west with his bundle open before him. He put aside the stick with the Young Mother Corn Plant tied to it that they had made in the spring and the two sacred ears in their respective wrappings. He also had before him the four new sacred ears that were brought in that morning. The new sacred ears had been cut with the first section of the stem left on to symbolize the windpipe and the voice of the Mother Corn which was the "breath of life." After singing four songs mentioning the different colors, black, red, yellow, and white for the semicardinal directions, he sang a fifth song and cut off the stem. Then he sang another song welcoming the new Mother Corn. He embraced the new ear, passing it to the other priests who were sitting to the south and to the north of him, and then passed it down the south side and then the north of the lodge, everyone in turn embracing the new Mother Corn. When the ear was returned to the priest, he sang a seventh song stating that the voice of the corn was raised to the heavens.

At the close of the songs, the pipe was filled and the mouthpiece pointed toward Mother Corn as an offering to share in the smoking. Then the ear was passed to the people on each side of the lodge and each person blew his breath on it four times, symbolizing its new life in the world.

The next symbolic act was to concentrate all the power in the world into Mother Corn herself. The priest took a buffalo-hair rope about a yard long from his sacred bundle. It was said to have been made of "hair from beneath the waters." Taking one of the new Mother Corn ears in each hand, he knelt before the altar holding the ends of the rope against the ears. Then moving his hands, he made the rope circle around into a loop to represent the horizon as it had circled out from the gods in the west during the original creation. He now made movements as if he were throwing the rope over objects and drawing them to his breast. This was spoken of as "trapping the powers of the Heavens" for Mother Corn and all the sacred objects.

The ears of sacred corn whose "lives had been ended" were now given over to a distinguished warrior, who would carry them on the warpath to guide him to success, or to the entrepreneur of the Peace Pipe Ceremony, who would carry them on his expedition to give him success in trade and international relations.

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On the South Side	*On the North Side*
A *reindeer cult* in charge of Old Bull	*An eagle cult*
A *black-tailed deer* cult led by Old Lady Tsitawa (see p. 45)	A *fish hawk cult*
A *buffalo lodge* led by Wonderful Old Bull	A *coyote* lodge (including wolves and foxes)
Another *buffalo lodge* led by Leading Buffalo	A *bear* lodge jointly lead by Sitting Hawk and Angry Horse

The origin of the Associated Doctor Lodge was said to be in Pumpkin-Vine Village where they would conduct a twenty-day ceremony. When they joined the Skidi Federation, they incorporated the other doctors and extended the term to thirty days. The formation of the association was attributed to an original visionary and images were constructed to commemorate various aspects of his vision. The most elaborate was one that represented the serpentlike water monster that led him to the earth lodge of the animals under the Missouri. The body of the serpent, which was nearly 60 feet long, curved around the outside of the houseposts with its head at the southeast, a forked tail at the northeast, and its body curved toward the west. The body was constructed of a framework of pieces of ashwood tied with sinew, covered over with a layer of grass and plastered with clay, smoothed and painted in different colors. Its mouth, large enough for a man to crawl inside, was built of two rawhide containers, covered over with a black-dyed buffalo robe and painted and decorated with white downy eagle feathers. The open mouth was provided with large wedge-shaped cottonwood teeth and on each side of the mouth long slender willow rods to represent feelers or antennae.

They also had to model the figure of the witch woman who was in the visionary animal lodge under the Missouri. First they built up a willow frame and then covered it with grass and clay. They provided the witch with a realistically modeled face and pumpkin-seed eyes, blackened in the center to represent pupils. On her head they put a buffalo scalp to which they attached two long braids of human hair; for clothing she wore a buffalo-hide dress.

Next they modeled the fireplace into the shape of a turtle, with its head pointing east, its tail west and the four legs in the semicardinal directions. They scooped out the back for the fire pit.

It took twelve of the leading doctors two nights running to build these figures, for which large quantities of clay had to be brought in. They worked at night so that they would not be observed. These were the main figures that represented the vision in the animal lodge.

The next task was to represent the star gods from whom everything

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came, including the animals. For these, two consecrated buffalo skins were shot with a special bow and arrow during the preceding summer. The gods were represented as cutouts suspended from the roof of the lodge. Each was hung approximately where it appeared in the heavens. The female gods of the western skies were cut out of the buffalo cowskin. The bull hide was used for a large cutout figure of the Morning Star fastened to a stick and raised above the smokehold outside just before the star rose in the sky.

The tasks of the doctors in preparing the ceremonial lodge were summarized by my informant as:

> Now that the booths, the drums and gourds (rattles) were done, the pictures hung, the serpent, witch, and turtle modeled, there was one more thing to do—to get the cedar tree.

Each one of these elements of ceremonial furniture represented an involved ideological network of religious beliefs. The theology of the celestial gods and the creation has already been sufficiently elaborated on. The ideology of the Doctor Spirits concerned chiefly the waters as the primordial source, followed by the earth, the plants, and the animals —all however, ultimately subject to and derived from Heaven as denoted by the cutout figures of the cosmic gods.

The ideology of the doctors was greatly valued from a humanistic as well as from a practical point of view. Theoretically, chiefs with hereditary status should not want to be doctors as to some extent we might not expect a Grand Duke to want to go to medical school and set up an office for general practice. The degree of apprenticeship and subordination to an established practitioner seemed hardly consonant with the dignity of a chief from the point of view of the Pawnee, but nevertheless some of the chiefs did seek out doctor knowledge and participated actively in the apprentice roles. When a chief applied to a doctor to become his pupil, the doctor would try to dissuade him saying, "You're a chief. I don't sleep at night. I am always working. You don't want to be that way. I have to watch the sick at night." But if the chief is determined his wish will finally be granted. The doctor again would test him, saying, "You're good-looking. You don't want to have mud all over your face!" At last after all these probing questions, if the applicant said, "That's what I want," the doctor, convinced of his sincerity, would bless him and receive him under his tutelage. White Eagle, who had led the previous summer hunt, and his brother Charley Box were both chiefs and also deer doctors. Old Bull and Victory Call were both chiefs and practicing doctors; Victory Call's senior brother Sitting Hawk had an important place in the chief's council and was also a leading doctor in the lodge.

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796 ing" session that lasted late into the night. The successive fighting ses-
789 sions on subsequent evenings were installments of a single fight in
787 which a "magically produced" mescal bean is spirited away from its "owner" by various members of the Dance in turn until he finally succeeds in retrieving it and "swallowing" or rubbing it into his side so that it disappears from the scene "in possession" of the rightful owner.
[824] The mescal beans are referred to as "horses" and when carried by a man on the warpath are supposed to assure him of success in capturing them. In the course of the hypnotic contest, the contestants are referred to as hostile tribes by their different tribal names according to the semicardinal "stations" where they belong. The rules of the game are that a person can only be attacked by someone who is in the diagonally opposite semicardinal station to the victim. This means that the *Northwest* possessor of the bean can have it spirited away from him only by an enemy of the *Southeast* and if he in turn passes it on to his ally on the *Southwest* then it will be retrieved only by the enemy on the *Northeast*. If the *Northwest* wants its bean back again, this can only be accomplished by a complicated maneuver in which the bean gets to the *Southeast* from which the *Northwest* can finally retrieve it. The Pawnee pictograph of a star is what to us is a simple equal-armed cross. The pattern of "fighting" described above is called "Making a Star," the complete operation of the diagonally opposite pairs, forming the
773 pictographic "star" or cross. This star reference has an important cosmic
• 776 significance. It symbolizes the Wolf Star, Sirius. As far as one can
[821] speak of such a deity at all among them, the Wolf Star is the Pawnee god of death and war. In the story of the creation legend, the gods forgot to invite the Wolf Star to their council, and he continued to harbor deep resentment against all of them, particularly being jealous of the Evening Star in the west and of Paruksti, the personified storm out of the west that the gods sent to inspect their handiwork when the earth was complete. On his journey of inspection to earth, Paruksti carried the people in a whirlwind bag. Whenever Paruksti was tired or lonesome, he set down the bag and the people came out, set up camp, and had a buffalo hunt. Then he gathered them up again and went on his way. Wolf Star in his anger placed a wolf on earth to follow after Paruksti, and, one day while Paruksti was asleep with his head pillowed on his whirlwind bag, the Wolf, thinking he would get something good to eat, gently lifted his head and dragged the bag out onto the open prairie. The people came out and set up camp, but were unable to get any buffalo in this barren place. They entertained the Wolf at a feast of dry meat, not realizing his identity. When Paruksti awoke and came over the hill they realized that the Wolf was an impostor and chased him, succeeding, as a result, in surrounding and killing him. But this did not please Paruksti. He told them that they would have to take the Wolf's

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skin, dry it, and make a sacred bundle of it and ever after be known as the Skidi or Wolf People. Moreover, that while the gods had intended that they were to live forever, since they had killed the first animal on earth, they had brought death upon themselves and also the men with their lances to make war. The Wolf Doctor played the major role in the sacrifice of the girl to the Morning Star (see Chapter 10). The actual name of the star was *Tskirixki-tiuhats*, Wolf-He-Is-Deceived. It was said that the star appears at times in the southeast just before the rising of the Morning Star and "deceives the wolves" who thus prematurely begin their howling to greet the morning when Sirius appears, without waiting for its true beginning with the rise of the Morning Star.

A further celestial connection of the Deer Dance is the control of rattlesnakes attributed to its members. Fools-the-Wolves Star has a celestial ally, the Real Snake (Scorpio) particularly during the summer time. Stories that the people told about the wolf or coyote were likely to be decidedly irreverent, and they refrained from telling them in summer because in that season Wolf Star would enlist his friend, Real Snake, to send the rattlesnakes on earth to bite the people.

The first five sessions of the Deer Dance ceremony have thus been occupied with a combined program in each session of "playing" and "fighting." The sixth night was given over entirely to "fighting," a second "star" battle ensuing over the mescal bean, in this case a bean belonging to the *Northeast* station, while the former combat originated at the *Northwest*.

With the end of this sixth session the first phase of the ceremony is completed. Here an apparently quite different motif enters the picture. Instead of war, we get a preoccupation with the growing crops. Until the fighting session is over, the members have been forbidden to eat green plant foods. At the banquet of the sixth session, they now have a vegetable stew of green corn, green beans, and pumpkins, all cooked in a kettle, which they ate with great relish, "the dry meat being hard to bite and the green stuff tasting good after being away from it." The corn and beans they had been permitted to eat up to this point were all dried and from last year's crop. While these two themes of war and the growing crops might seem opposed, the fact that the lifting of the taboo against eating the current crop is dependent on a session of intensive "fighting" is an indication of the basic connection in Pawnee thought between war and the fructification of the plants—a motif that also appears in other aspects of the theology and ceremonialism. Apparently the idea of fructification, as it came from the Wichita, pertained to wild plants rather than to cultivated crops, involving the maturation of the wild sage plant and the mescal bean, as well as the wild squash that was originally used for the rattle for which the Pawnee substituted the cultivated gourd rattle. The wild sage plant continued to be a major fea-

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

The Return from the Hunt

After their travels over the snow and ice, they were glad to return to the warmth of their homes.

Soon the thunder would sound from the south. Then the priests would call down the gods from the heavens to re-create the earth and Wonderful would come down from his home in the western skies and walk the land that the gods had made—in all his aspects as the lightning, the thunder, the storm—going on the hill, the plain, the prairie—in the bottomlands, across the water, in the village and back to his home in the western skies where he would rest.

The new year would begin—the house, the food pit, the hunt, the harvest and again the winter hunting time. But there came a time when the year would not begin for the Pawnee. For beyond the Pawnee universe was the outer world and from it would come its destruction after six hundred years, and a new world would be born.

14: Weltfish E-4, 5 (1928-1936, 1954) 1965
(1867) NQ18 Pawnee NQ18

not help his wife was likely to have scanty stores of food." (Wilson, 1917, p. 115, footnote 1.)

On the winter hunt, Uncle War Cry, head brave of the Skidis, considered the most aggressive personality in the tribe, did not hesitate to thin and dry the buffalo meat pending the arrival of the women of his family. The taunts of the other men did not affect him (see p. 435). The desirability of helping one's wife was also stated in connection with harvesting (see pp. 242, 244). Taking all of the Americas, in the more highly developed civilizations—Peru, Mexico, and Central America and the southwestern Pueblos—men did the gardening; basketry was made by the men among some of the Amazon tribes; and among the southwestern Pueblo peoples, some were made by men some by women.

57 On the Comanche version of the "kick" game, see Wallace and Hoebel, 1952, general account pp. 8-14, specific reference p. 9.

63-64 On the analogy between the cosmic universe outside and the inside of the earth lodge, see Fletcher, 1904, pp. 325-326, "The sun's ray has walked around the lodge and touched all within, then climbs out and rests upon the tops of the hills that stand as a wall and inclose as a lodge the abode of the people."

64 On the kindness and closeness of the cosmic gods see the song sung by Effie Blane—"The Thunder Spoke Quietly" (Densmore, 1929, p. 61). "A certain young man was afraid of the storm and wept when he heard the thunder, but in a dream the thunder spoke softly and said, 'Do not be afraid, your father is coming.'" He heard the thunder sing a song and learned it and sang it when he went to war. His name was Eagle, and he lived to be one of the old warriors of the tribe. (See McDermott, 1940, for Tixier's account.) Tixier remarks on the Osage report of the courage of the Pawnee warrior (p. 223): "Dark stormy nights are the ones the Pawnee choose by preference to attack." In 1954 on a visit to Pawnee, Oklahoma, I was watching television with my old friend, Mrs. Blanche Matlock, when a thunderstorm broke. She remarked that the Pawnees were not afraid of the storm," on the contrary they were part of it and went out into it.

68, 238, 268-270 On the European Neolithic food pit, see Burkitt, 1924, p. 7. On archaeological examples of Pawnee food pits, see Wedel, 1936, pp. 53-54. An early Linwood site has a pit 11 feet deep and 10 feet across the bottom. "All (historic and protohistoric examples) are of the usual bell shape . . . with smooth beaten walls, curving evenly downward and outward from the mouth, a slightly depressed, usually bark-covered floor. Sand was present beneath the bark in at least four of the caches opened at the Hill site." See also Hodge, 1912, Vol. I, pp. 178-179; Vol. II, pp.